20c OCTOBER 9, 1950

New Republic

RECORD OF CONGRESS

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ISSUES OF 1950

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A Letter...

from

PABLO CASALS

world-renowned 'cellist, symbol of Spanish freedom

PABLO CASALS, the great Spanish artist, recently wrote a letter from self-exile in the French Pyrenees thanking Americans for Democratic Action for its fight against Franco. "It is in such tireless efforts throughout the free world, but particularly in America, that the Spanish people place their hope for ultimate liberation," he said. The anti-Franco battleground has now shifted from Washington to Flushing Meadow. ADA is organizing the fight in the UN, but the campaign will take money. Will you help?

IN CASALS' words, "this is a crucial time in which we very much need the most concentrated aid from outside sources in order to be able to restore truly representative government in Spain."

IF YOU THINK it is important to keep the sole surviving symbol of the Axis out of the UN and its agencies, won't you send a contribution?

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1740 K Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D. C.

Go to it. Here's my contribution to help win the fight against Franco at Flushing Meadow.

(....$5....$10....$25....$50....$100....$500....$1000)

☐ Please send me a copy of Casals' letter.
☐ Please send me more information about ADA.

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY..... STATE.....

N. R.

Dear New Leader,

I know that I speak for the great majority of my countrymen in saying that we are not only encouraged by every attempt being made [illegible] to help the cause of [illegible] but that this is a crucial [illegible] very much need the most concentrated aid from outside sources in order to be able to restore truly representative government in Spain.

[illegible] world-renowned 'cellist, symbol of Spanish freedom

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yours,
most grateful

Pablo Casals
1, Route de Canigou
PRADES
(P.O.)

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

BIGGEST story today in Washington is the confusion of Korean success. With victory in sight, you can positively hear the patriotic fervor and energy ebbing out at the seams. Military leaders urge grimly that we must keep our guard up. The question is whether the country will accept the sacrifices undertaken when the outnumbered band of GI's, in their bloody pocket, were being pushed to the sea.

Fact is, the danger from Russia is now no greater, no less, than before Korea. American defense inadequacy has been shown and a great drive is under way to remedy it. But the physical and dollar costs are tremendous. Only a year ago, Congress was beating its breast for "economy." When Korea broke out, poor old Louis Johnson found how unwise he had been to accept economy. Now the demand for economy may revive. If the Kremlin lies quiet for a time, there will be resistance here and there to the sacrifices involved: drafting boys for the three million defense force, drafting corporate profits for the excess profits tax, allocating scarce materials and all the rest.

Top officials guess that Moscow has dropped open armed aggression for the time, and her satellites may have learned something too. Instead, the Kremlin may step up sabotage and subversion in Austria and Germany. This will be annoying but hardly the kind of thing to keep US emotions boiling. The Republican National Committee has put out dodgers declaring "we are on the brink of World War III." This is to support their election thesis that the Democrats are the "war party." Success in Korea takes the wind out of this, too.

The midterm 1950 election comes in five weeks. We have rarely known our colleagues who make political forecasts to be more uncertain. Normally the "outs" win about 25 to 30 House seats at midterm. This is because the successful presidential candidate two years before generally carries in extra congressmen on his coattails. Whether the GOP will now make this average gain, remains to be seen. With a present 92-seat Democratic majority in the House, it seems unlikely that the GOP can capture that body as things are now going. In the Senate, the GOP needs a net gain of only seven seats to take control, and might get them. This column is going to wait before making forecasts; the Korean improvement changes everything. GOP General MacArthur has pulled Truman out of a hole. Bigger registrations here and there make things begin to look fairly promising for Democrats.

On Sunday starts the American Medical Association's great advertising drive against "socialized medicine." It's going to be a beaut all right, with a million for direct advertising and tie-ins approaching $20 million. We can't wait to see it. We want to feel our blood curdle at the thought of cheaper medical costs through Federal assistance. The advertising firm of Whitaker & Baxter will manage that for us.

Somehow we think the MD's are being taken for a ride. Almost alone, its powerful lobby blocked in the House after unanimous Senate passage the bill giving Federal aid to medical schools: this has alienated the medical-school deans, the American Hospital Association, the American Dental Association.

Max Lowenthal headed the staff of the 1936 Senate inquiry into railway finance run by Burt Wheeler, and later by Harry Truman. Lowenthal took Senator Truman to meet his friend Justice Brandeis, who was struck by the strong strain of native liberalism in the new Senator. Truman and Lowenthal worked closely together; they are still friends. Lowenthal has been preparing a book tentatively entitled *The FBI*. The extension of this great Federal police

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agency deserves to be explored. Lowenthal does not draw too flattering a portrait.

Suddenly on the floor of the House September first, Representative Dondero (R, Mich.) rose to assail Lowenthal. It was a typical McCarthy-style tirade aimed at character assassination. One of the worst things Dondero cited was that his victim had attended Harvard Law School—"like many other parlor pinks, fellow travelers, Communists and convicted perjurers." Who tipped Dondero off? Could it have been the FBI itself? On September 15 the House Un-American Activities Committee called in Lowenthal, with counsel ex-Senator Burt Wheeler, for a two-hour secret grilling. Only two members were present, Representatives Moulder (D, Mo.) and Walter (D, Pa.). Questions rambled; the committee failed or forgot to give Lowenthal a chance to deny on oath that he is a Communist. The preliminary attack on the author of a forthcoming book savors of thought suppression. We understand a number of bookstores think it wiser not to carry a book critical of the FBI in these disturbed days, even though its author is an old Truman acquaintance.

Notes: Truman's veneration for George Marshall is emphasized in Jonathan Daniels' new book on the President; Marshall probably helped pick Republican AT&T head Walter Gifford as ambassador to England, Wall Street banker Lovett as Deputy Secretary of Defense . . . Republican Senator Morse calls for defeat of any Senator who helped block excess profits tax passage; this hits Senator Millikin (R, Colo.), already facing hard election fight. . . . Idea of big war profits now being made by great corporations revolts many. . . . Truman's absence on cruise tells story of relaxed Capital mood; he's been working 16-hour day. . . . Goodbye Paul Hoffman, retiring ECA head; a fine job well done! . . . The American Newspaper Guild is balloting on big issue: whether to use funds to establish locally-owned competing newspapers where monopoly exists. . . . Oakland is now largest one-newspaper city in country.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Canada's Way

SIR: What can we, as individuals, contribute in our small way to those twin guarantors of peace: freedom and abundance? I found an answer while visiting Saskatchewan this summer. The accomplishments of the democratic, administratively decentralized, socialist government (Coöperative Commonwealth Federation) are truly astounding. . . .

As an American I feel that the survival of this experiment is as vital to us as anything going on in our own country. It is the social laboratory which may lead Canada to become an example for the United States. Through their very excellence the CCF is in danger. . . . Achievement and postwar prosperity have made CCF supporters relax their efforts. Top leaders have inevitably been too taken up with new and crucial administrative tasks to rebuild and expand the movement. Demonstration is the best form of education. At the same time, however, funds are desperately needed now, for a nucleus of full-time leadership to enter the next phase: *teaching members themselves to become leaders.* There must be a conscious, planned movement of neighbors *learning and planning how* to quicken the understanding of neighbors. . . .

Appleton, Wis. CHRISTINE WISE

The Higher Faith

SIR: Though it was good to read, in this time of hysteria, that President Truman had vetoed the totalitarian-like "subversives-control bill," he must have known that to appeal at such a late date for the rejection of a bill already overwhelmingly passed by Congress would be of little value.

For Harry Truman and those among the liberals who have attempted to meet the rantings of the McCarthys and his less vicious collaborators by asserting that the McCarthy way was the wrong way to deal with the Communists because it could not catch the Communists, and by laying the main portion of their argument on this line, have actually helped to destroy the potency of liberal aspirations and ideals.

Witness the sordid spectacle of Scott Lucas declaring that the McCarran proposals weren't strong enough. We may inquire of Mr. Lucas whether it would not have been a finer act to stand up firmly for American liberties, as Herbert Lehman, who also faces an election this year, did. Is political victory so sweet as to be purchased at such a moral price?

Democratic rights, the right of people to express their ideas and thoughts, the right of men to criticize the state and its leaders, the right to summon the state to the bar of a higher religious or ethical morality, of a higher ideal—or of any ideal—is the mark of freedom. And as long as democracy exists, the Communists, too, have the right to bear their witness. The state may resist the stealing of its secrets, it may imprison those who commit sabotage, but it never can claim the right to decide what men may believe.

There are Communists and there will be many more who turn mistakenly to a Moscow-corrupted ideal, but it is not an evil in these men, it is rather an evil in the society in which we live. The evil is of man's making and only men dedicated to a higher faith, a higher love, may help eliminate it. And I for one will take Alger Hiss, guilty or not (which I take it was Dean Acheson's implication), to many of those conformers to or makers of the hysteria of our time.

Chicago, Ill. SAMUEL LASNICK

Reckless Economy

SIR: In today's world, scientific progress is the sole basis for national security. Any major power which falls behind in the race for scientific advancement thereby endangers its own future.

Most Americans are now well aware of this, and have long realized that scientific advancement must not be left to the haphazard progress of private industry or university laboratories. The government is supporting much military research. In addition, for several years there has been agitation for a National Science Foundation. Both Houses of Congress voted for such a Foundation some time ago. Under the plan as approved by the House and Senate, substantial sums would be made available, under careful control, for scientific research of a kind which is not now being done, or is not being done in sufficient quantities. The plan as accepted was whittled down from what the scientists had recommended; but it was at least a start, it would establish new patterns of thought, and it was better than nothing.

This being so, it is hard to understand why the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives, shortly before the recess, refused to authorize any money whatever for the National Science Foundation. Presumably the Committee acted for reasons of economy; but if so, it was extremely shortsighted. A few thousands now for science might easily save many millions—and perhaps our national safety—later on.

New York City WILSON K. WILSON

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 15, ISSUE 1871, WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 9, 1950 **New Republic**

THE TERMS FOR THE PEACE

THE AMAZING success of the United Nations arms in Korea has changed the whole world picture overnight. Far sooner than almost everyone expected, we are confronted with the problem of how to make peace. Over the last weekend the capitals of the world were buzzing with a set of alleged North Korean armistice terms, at once repudiated, and a set of suggestions from the Soviet Union, quite authentic as far as they went, for the announced purpose of easing the whole general tension between that country and the US.

The North Korean terms were so fantastic that even if they had been authentic, they could deserve no serious consideration. They began with the suggestion that the North Korean Army withdraw behind the 38th Parallel and the United Nations forces return to the Pusan beachhead! The usefulness of such a proposal, if any, was only to remind the world that some hard, high-level thinking needs to be done on the subject of peace terms.

Substantial progress has now been made on that question. Canada, Great Britain and the United States, late last week, had all put forward outlines of suggested terms, which paralleled one another so closely that they left no doubt they would also represent the final and formal UN proposal. Korea is to be free, united and independent. It must not be a base for possible aggressive action, military or otherwise, by any power of East or West. The Asiatic countries must play a large role in settling the war and ushering in the new Korea. Yet we must be careful that the peace is made by the UN as a whole and not by certain of its members only.

The question whether UN forces should cross the 38th Parallel in pursuit of the fleeing North Korean Army had taken a very different aspect by the weekend, when those forces were only a few miles from the boundary, and pressing forward rapidly. At Flushing Meadow, as in Washington, it was taken for granted that General MacArthur had complete authority to send his forces anywhere in Korea that was necessary, under various UN resolutions including that of June 27. India was the only important non-Communist nation that seemed deeply troubled on this point. The Western countries were concerned only lest the movement of UN troops into the North should provoke Communist China to enter the war.

While the rumors of North Korean peace terms were unfounded, the Russian peace overtures were authentic but spurious. Jacob Malik, last August's villian at Lake Success, seized the opportunity offered by a "peace proposal" by a Baltimore group, strikingly similar in most aspects to the Stockholm Peace Resolution, to extend an olive branch, or a synthetic product that looked like one at first glance. He said that the Soviet Union would favor: a meeting between top American and Russian leaders; general disarmament and the outlawing of atomic weapons; and the free interchange of ideas and information. In addition, Russia was willing to pledge that it "would not be the first" to use the atomic bomb.

These peaceful-sounding remarks drew a storm of angry comment from practically the entire non-Communist world. In Washington, London and Paris, these points were made: Russia has said the same things before, with no evidence of any desire to implement them, or to use them for any purpose except propaganda; she is trying to save face after the very serious setback involved in the defeat in Korea; these offers are fantastically at variance with her present practices, as, for instance, consistent jamming of the Voice of America broadcasts; quite possibly she is trying to dissuade America from continuing the program of arming herself and her West European allies.

It remained for Lester Pearson, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, to suggest a telling test of Russian intentions. There can be no effective international control of atomic energy, he pointed out, without "the right of free access at all times to every atomic-energy installation or plant of any kind whatever; and the right to search for undeclared atomic-energy facilities wherever there can be reasonable grounds for believing, in the opinion of the international control authority, that they may exist." If the Soviets are not willing to accept this, it is impossible to believe that they are sincere.

A world war with atomic weapons would be the greatest catastrophe in history; yet such a war becomes increasingly probable with the passage of time. It can only be prevented by some sort of understanding between East and West, which means in fact, between the USSR and the US. For this reason the utmost care

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should always be taken to give full consideration to overtures toward peace, however slight, however suspect as to purpose. If we had any reason to believe that the USSR now wants to make peace on a genuine compromise basis, her overtures should be followed up with all possible energy. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that this is the case. Extending the olive branch is a calculated maneuver on her part which relieves the international tension by not an iota. Peace must and will be found; but the road is not yet clear ahead.

THE WEEK

THE ASSEMBLY AT WORK

LAKE SUCCESS (NR Correspondent)

The UN Assembly last week spent most of its time watching the great drama that was being played out in Korea. The rapid triumph of the UN forces threw upon its members urgent military and political problems. Wherever delegates met, outside the formal proceedings and sometimes in those proceedings, questions were being asked about what happens next. What forces shall occupy North Korea while peace is being stabilized? How shall the whole of Korea be welded into a democratic framework? What concrete measures should be taken to reconstruct this devastated country?

The American proposals made at the end of the week followed closely the pattern of the British and Canadian suggestions, and quickly received considerable support from other delegations. The US recommends a strong United Nations commission—chiefly composed of Asiatics—to supervise the elections for the whole country. It also recommends a program for the economic rehabilitation of Korea. The future status of the present government in South Korea was left undetermined.

On other issues, the Assembly is not so decided. The problem of Franco Spain, for example, is one on which a number of delegations are still waiting to see in which direction the wind will blow, while others are apparently trying sincerely to evaluate the pros and cons. The pro-Franco elements are more confident than ever before, or at least, they say they are.

Secretary of State Acheson's proposal to empower the Assembly to take prompt action against aggression received substantial support in the week's debate. It was to be expected that the small nations would welcome the plan, since in the Assembly there is no veto and the vote of a small country counts for as much as that of a big one. Some delegates, however, expressed doubt of the legality of the proposal. Great Britain and France endorsed the plan in principle, reserving the right of "constructive criticism" at a later time. India, on the other hand, carefully abstained from comment during the first few days. She continues to try to preserve a delicate balance between the Soviets and the West.

At the end of the week the delegates began to center their attention on the six basic assembly committees, where many questions will be discussed, some solved—and some deferred.

FOR A NEW ASIATIC POLICY

Americans for Democratic Action is the most important non-Communist, and, indeed, anti-Communist, national liberal organization in this country today. For that reason, its proposals for a new Asiatic policy for the US, made public a few days ago, deserve particular attention.

The ADA included a set of peace terms for Korea which parallel almost exactly what the United Nations is clearly planning to do (see above). In addition, recommendations are made for dealing with other Asiatic matters. The group recommends that Communist China should be admitted to the UN, and recognized by the US, provided it gives firm pledges to stay out of the Korean war and to refrain from attacking Formosa. This recommendation is in line with the historic doctrine of international law that recognition of a country should be based on the fact of actual control of territory and not on moral attitudes of approval or disapproval.

The ADA is disturbed about the American adventure in Indo-China; it wants this country to refrain from any military action anywhere that's not supported by the UN. It asks that we aid the withering away of colonialism rather than the contrary; that we give economic aid on a large scale to many Asiatic countries, supporting at the same time internal economic reform in such countries, including the abolition of unjust systems of land tenure. It wants an end to race discrimination both in the US and, as far as our influence is effective, everywhere else. All in all, a brave and forward-looking set of recommendations, which should be supported by the Administration and by the new Congress—if that Congress is as good as it ought to be and can be.

PURGE AFTERMATH

As the fall semester began at the University of California, students discovered that some 48 courses had been eliminated from the curriculum as a result of the loyalty-oath firings. Among the 30-odd professors who refused to sign and were dismissed by the Board of Regents were several in the psychology and mathematics departments. The department chairmen were unable to find "qualified" personnel to fill the jobs before time for students to register for courses. President Robert Gordon Sproul has refused to allow non-signers to teach classes, even though 18 of the professors are now awaiting a court

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decision on the legality of the Regents' action.

The Third District Court of Appeals in California has postponed decision on the loyalty-oath issue, granting attorneys for the Regents 30 days in which to file any further briefs. The Court, however, ordered the Regents to take no further action against the professors and to keep open the right to obtain reappointment by signing a non-Communist oath. There is little chance that any of the 18 will take advantage of this offer.

The professors will have the support of the Academic Senate, the faculty governing body. At its first meeting since the professors were discharged, the Senate last week passed a resolution condemning the Regents for violation of the University faculty-tenure principles, for "bad faith" in dealing with the faculty regarding the loyalty oath and for "gross violation" of principles. University Vice President and Provost Emeritus Monroe E. Deutsch, who last April urged the professors to go along with the Regents and to have faith that the Board would observe recommendations of the Senate's Committee on Academic Privilege and Tenure, charged that when the first man was fired for refusal to sign the oath, the Regents "met the acid test and failed."

The Academic Senate has received messages of support from several other colleges, notably Princeton University, where 76 percent of the teaching staff signed a statement urging the Senate to stand by its principles "for the sake of academic freedom."

HIGHER WAGES

Labor is pressing hard to complete a new round of wage increases, amounting in most cases to 10 to 15 cents per hour, before the President sets widespread wage and price ceilings. The major industries, with the exception of the steel and maritime ones, have now completed their contracts for the coming year with roughly a 10-cent raise written in. The auto, rubber, clothing, electric, textile and meat-packing industries are generally in this class. The companies have had no argument to offer against the demand for increases, and their added profits have been so sizeable that there seemed little reason for them to resist. Also, management was reluctant to risk possible strikes and the loss of present huge incomes that would follow.

The maritime and steel unions are pushing their wage cases now. Maritime is expected to settle its grievances at around the 10-cent figure with comparative ease. Philip Murray, however, has not yet revealed his intentions regarding a wage settlement for his United Steel Workers. Under the present contract, Murray's union cannot start discussions looking toward higher wages until November 1. However, the steel workers have asked the steel companies to start those discussions now, in view of the changed conditions brought on by the Korean War. Jones & Laughlin, a comparatively small producer, has agreed to begin negotiations October 8, but the giant US Steel Corporation has not yet answered Murray's request for an earlier meeting.

There is considerable doubt in union circles that Murray will settle for the 10-cent pattern. The government's cost-of-living index is up since the 10-cent figure was arrived at last Spring, and Secretary of Labor Tobin is predicting that it will rise another "three to five points" before the end of the year. This means that those unions, like the United Auto Workers, who have contracts containing the so-called "escalator clause" tying wages to the cost of living will automatically receive an extra two to four cents an hour in their pay envelopes in a short time. The steelworkers would need to win approximately a 15-cent increase now to keep up to them.

John L. Lewis, under the United Mine Workers' contract, can open his wage talks in April. But he too is expected to ask that coal operators agree to begin meeting around the first of the year.

The mounting pressure of wages as well as prices in the next three months will surely force the President to impose fairly extensive controls on the economy.

JIM CROW'S CHILDREN

Georgia's Governor "Hummon" Talmadge has found that his policy of white supremacy—aimed at the state's rural voters—sometimes has a noisy backfire. It backfired right in the faces of Georgia's children, when the National Committee for the White House Conference on Children and Youth voted not to seat Talmadge's Jim-Crow delegation a fortnight ago.

Behind the National Committee's action lay eight months of quiet, futile effort by Georgia Negroes to get representation on the state's White House Conference Committee.

In February, at the request of the Georgia Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, Talmadge sent letters of appointment to four persons. He did not know that two of them —Mrs. Hortense Cochrane, of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, and Nelson C. Jackson, Southeastern Director of the Urban League—were Negroes.

Discovering his mistake, Talmadge promptly informed his state chairman for the Conference that no Negroes were to serve on the committee. The chairman duly passed the word along to the Negroes previously appointed, but they were not satisfied. Having received notice of appointment by the Governor himself, they felt they were entitled to an official explanation from him, and said so.

The Negroes, Talmadge explained, would have to take the question up with Jerome Connor, director of the Georgia Citizens Council, who was now handling "all such matters connected with the White House Conference."

Several weeks later, the most Connor could do was to quote the Governor as saying that no Negroes would be appointed "at this time." ("At this time" was at the height of the gubernatorial campaign, featuring "Hummon" at his race-baiting worst.)

When these facts were presented to the National Committee, it voted unanimously to deny Georgia the right to participate in the White House Conference.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

One European attitude toward Dean Acheson's stand at the meetings of the foreign ministers in New York is reflected by an anecdote now going the rounds of the political cafés and salons of the Western capitals. It is about three Frenchmen who decided the time had come to learn another language. One of the three was a pessimist; he chose Russian. The second, an optimist, chose English. The third, who was an intelligent realist, decided on German.

From the European point of view, the anecdote is not funny. Nor is the new high-pressure American support for quick German rearmament. Few political realists anywhere in Western Europe fail to recognize by now that, as the *Monde* of Paris puts it, "the rearmament of Germany, or more accurately the integration of German forces in the common system of Western defense, is the logical development of the Atlantic Pact." But "logical development" is not the same as what the London *Observer* calls "the flying leap which the Americans believe the present crisis requires."

The Europeans assume the American stand at the Waldorf is based on two assumptions: first, that the French can no longer be depended on; second, that World War III is so near that the delicacies and niceties of political, economic and social problems on the European home front must be brushed aside in order to get on with the job of putting into uniforms and at war-factory benches the only continental Western Europeans who can be counted on—the Germans.

Both assumptions are dangerous from the viewpoint of the Atlanticism which, despite the Acheson-Schuman battle of the Waldorf, presumably remains a basic element of American policy. The French have earned no medals in the Cold War; they have demanded at one and the same time the respect due to a nation which won a war and the pity due a nation which lost. But the Pleven-Moch government is the first since the start of the Cold War that has made a start toward cauterizing the running sores of defeatism and neutralism.

It is not mere chance that since the foreign ministers have been shown the full force of the American view that European welfare spending should be cut, the two leading Parisian newspapers which speak for the anti-Gaullist conservatives have been hoisting danger signals about the home front. The *Figaro*, under the title, "There is no freedom in poverty," suggests that Americans whose standards of living are "on the average four or five times higher than the French" should not expect that Frenchmen, known officially as "economically feeble," should "consider themselves well off enough with no expectation of improvement." The *Monde* says: "In a country like France the question is not butter or guns, but a better sharing of butter" and it plainly poses the alternative, "Social Justice or Fascism."

But whether or not the men of the *Monde* are sincere about their new interest in social justice, the point at this juncture of history is that the American attitude at the Waldorf was a weakening for the Pleven-Moch version of the Third Force, and a reinforcement both of Gaullist-type Fascism and of Communist Fifth-Columnism in France. A moment when the French are finally being led toward making their contribution to the common defense is not the right time to choose to say that the Germans will be armed *first*, right away, no political questions asked.

The kind of American "presence" in Europe represented by 10 (or 20) more divisions is far more acceptable than the previous variety of invisible but omnipresent political and economic pressures; it will help enormously in the making of the common defense of the free world, provided that it is not merely a token but a first installment, and also provided that there is some concrete sign of its arrival before the Americans set up 10 (or 20) German divisions. If there is anything that will make Europeans believe in the reality of a common sharing, it is the proof of American democracy present in Europe, armed in the defense of democracy; if there is anything that will make them doubt, it is America's apparent willingness to use as new Hessians the countrymen of Stalin-Pieck's "people's republic" *Volkspolizei* and *Bereitschaften*.

The threat of Russian Communism is grave, but not grave enough to make Europeans forget the history of the last 100 German years. The German situation cannot repeat the Korean situation, if only because the South Germans are Germans—the best fighters and makers of fighting material in Europe. By all means, the Europeans say, consider using them as allies; but lest they do the using, sooner or later, be sure the British, the French and the others in the grand alliance are well armed and ready *first*.

The question is not only one of timing; it is also one of methods and controls. In Asia, America's slowness permitted Stalin to jockey her into fighting on terms which may make the loss of a continent the price of a victorious military campaign. In Europe, American speed in enlisting the Germans risks weakening both the human material and the morale of the rest of the army. Even the staunchest spokesmen for the ideal of a clerical Christian Europe have doubts about the Teutonized version of American get-tough-fast, and damn the torpedoes of revived Fascism. It is no secret that Schuman would not have resisted as he did at the Waldorf without support in Vatican City.

The American stand at the Waldorf also depends on a third assumption—that the Germans themselves are willing and ready to fight a defensive war for a free Europe, on German soil if necessary. This, too, is not altogether reliable. One of the best of the "good" Germans, Kurt Schumacher, leader of the Social Democrats, said at Stuttgart the other day: "Germany must not become a battleground. The defense of the West must be based on the offense." That shows the difference between Germany and Korea: Syngman Rhee said the South Koreans would carry the offense to North Korea without waiting for the arrival of the allied armies.

PERCY WINNER

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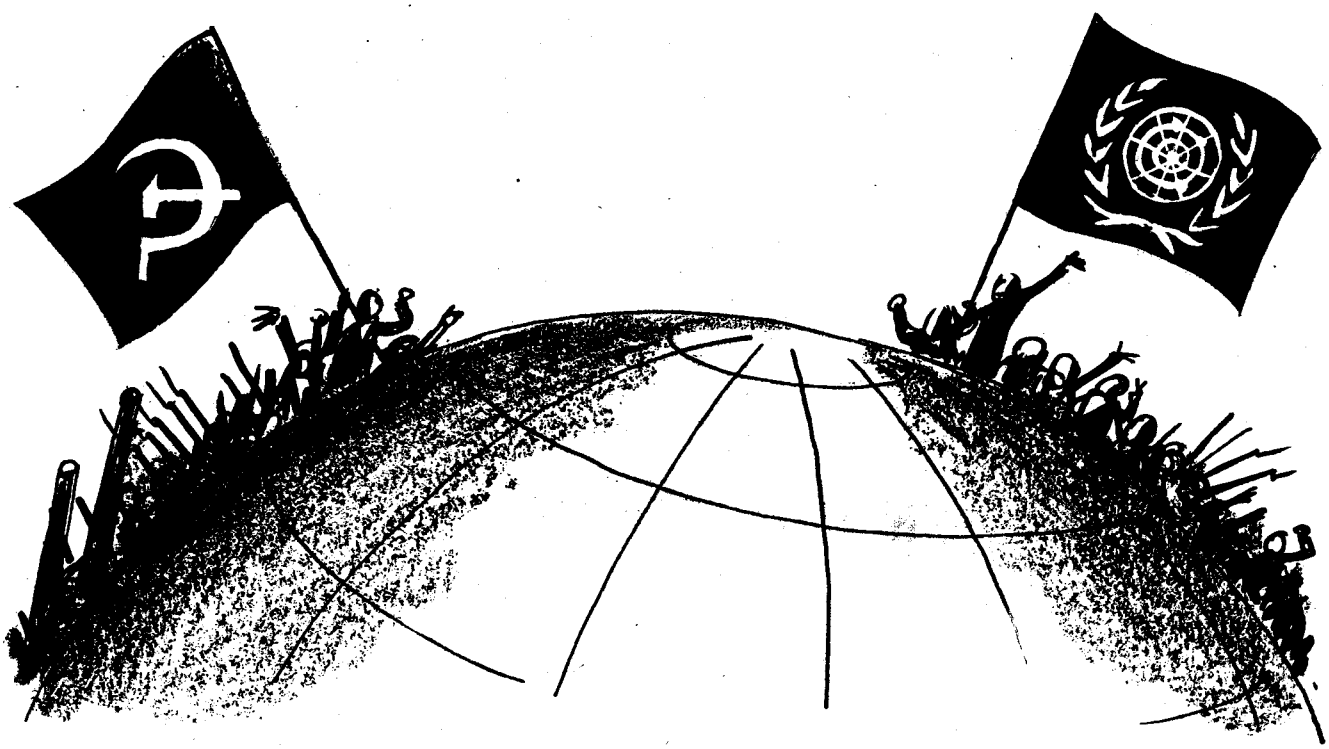
THE ISSUE IN 1950

COMMUNISM VS DEMOCRACY



New Republic Special Election Supplement

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WINNING WITHOUT A THIRD WORLD WAR

The United States, as the leader of the free nations, is engaged in a great conflict with World Communism.

Can we halt World Communism without a world war?

Can we save world freedom without losing our own?

Those are the key questions in 1950. The answers may be given by 50 million Americans who will cast their votes on November 7. If the issues are placed before them, they will make the right choice.

Who was right? This autumn the campaign is being fought on the record of the last five years. The Republican members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee claim that:

"The major tragedy of our time was the failure and refusal of American leadership in 1945 to recognize the true aims and methods of the rulers of Soviet Russia. . . . To this failure the major troubles of the world today are due."

If this is true, then Republicans, Democrats, all of us, are equally to blame.

Five years ago Russia was our ally. She had saved countless American lives by crushing Hitler's armies. She had lost 12 million dead. "The free people of the world," said General MacArthur, of Russia, "unite in salute to that great army and great nation which so nobly strives with us for victory, liberty and freedom."

"That Communist army," Senator Taft repeated, "has done more to bring about a German defeat than any other army in the world, and for that Russian aid we shall be eternally grateful."

"I see nothing in the future that would prevent Russia and the United States from being the closest possible friends," said General Eisenhower on August 14, 1945.

"The Soviet Union is a great nation and a great people with whom we have a historic friendship which must be maintained," Senator Arthur Vandenberg insisted after 18 weary months of conflict. "There is little doubt that true peace does finally depend upon a 'live and let live' accommodation between their Eastern communism and our Western democracy."

The Record In Europe

IN THOSE DAYS we hoped to win peace by negotiation. We found in the course of five years that it takes two to negotiate: two sides anxious to agree, and ready to compromise. Sometimes in the postwar years we scorned agreement, sometimes, as in the case of atomic-energy control, we can now see that we set our sights too high. Yet the Soviet leaders showed no willingness to compromise.

The Yalta agreements were broken when the Soviet government imposed Communist dictatorships on the nations of Eastern Europe. The Potsdam Agreement, which ordered Germany administered as an economic unit and divided it into four zones of military occupation, was blocked by French intransigence and the communization of the Soviet zone. As the tension between Russia and the West grew, civil war broke out in Greece and simmered in Western Europe, where US pressure forced Communist ministers out of the democratic governments. Finally Russia turned to force in the Berlin blockade.

During those years, US policy toward Russia was not a political issue. Our actions were determined jointly by Secretary of State James Byrnes and Senator Vandenberg, the leaders of our bipartisan foreign policy.

The disputes over our foreign policy arose on two major issues, military preparedness and world reconstruction, in which, through its control of appropriations, Congress asserted its power.

Preparedness. Russia came out of the war with 175 divisions. In peace, she maintained and reëquipped them.

In contrast, the United States discharged eight million of its nine million soldiers within two years of V-J Day.

This program was instigated by the 79th Congress, bent as it was on cutting taxes and returning to normalcy. Ignoring the protests of Truman, Eisenhower and Marshall, Congress came close to undermining the defense of the US.

"The situation in the Pacific continues to have many elements of danger," Truman warned. "Our occupation forces must be held at safe levels." The Republicans, however, knew better. "It happens to be my opinion," said Senator Harry Cain (R, Wash.), "that in the event of a fighting war and violent trouble we would get all the volunteers we needed."

As early as 1945 President Truman insisted that continuation of Selective Service was the only way to maintain an adequate armed force. If Selective Service was available for the present emergency, little credit for it goes to the Republicans. On 15 roll calls held in the last five years, eight out of ten Democrats voted to enact and strengthen Selective Service; one-half of the Republicans opposed it each time.

As for UMT, a group of Republicans under Rules Committee Chairman Leo Allen (R, Ill.) kept the bill

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from ever coming to the floor. "It has been said that Russia is a great threat," declared Allen, but "history discloses that they do not use military aggression in spreading their unfair, unreasonable and detestable doctrines." Most of us shared that illusion.

Reconstruction. In 1945 a devastated world faced bankruptcy and starvation. Trade was at a standstill. The President had cut off wartime lend-lease supplies. Misery, hunger and unemployment were breeding Communist revolutions the world over.

Slowly the US undertook to underwrite the economic recovery of the free nations. A Congressional majority, made up of internationalist Republicans and Democrats, carried through vital legislation. A minority of Republican isolationists fought it all the way.

The first effort was the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It turned the tide against starvation in 47 countries. Yet the isolationists fought its creation and blocked its funds in Congressional committees. One hundred and sixty-eight Representatives, 156 of them Republicans, voted to cripple the administration of UNRRA in 1945.

Our second effort was the British loan, vitally needed to maintain the solvency of our major ally. Eight Republicans—Bridges, Brooks, Cordon, Ferguson, Gurney, Reed, Wherry and Willis—led the Senate fight against the loan. In the House, Representative Everett Dirksen (R, Ill.) introduced so many crippling amendments that Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) advised him "to be honest enough to try to kill it" outright. The loan was opposed by two-thirds of the Republicans on Capitol Hill.

Our third and greatest effort was the Marshall Plan. It was conceived by Secretary of State George Marshall in June, 1947; organized by the democracies of Western Europe and guided through the Senate by Vandenberg, whose leadership deserves the highest praise.

Russia denounced the Marshall Plan as "a plan of enslavement" and ordered Communists everywhere to smash it by strikes and sabotage.

Republican isolationists allied themselves with Russia in fighting the Marshall Plan from first to last.

"A racket and a raid!" Representative John Taber (R, N.Y.) called the Marshall Plan. "A fantastic world-wide WPA!" declared Representative Charles Vursell (R, Ill.). Senator Malone (R, Neb.) called it "a most amazingly brazen and preposterous scheme." Senator Millikin (R, Colo.) condemned it as "a weird concoction of patronage, intrusion and imperialism." In contrast, Senator Kem (R, Mo.) denounced it as "a great political slush fund to assist the Labour Party and socialism in the coming British election."

"The Marshall Plan is Operation Rat Hole," cried Representative John Vorys (R, Ohio). "Aid to Europe is fundamentally the wrong approach," Senator Taft announced on November 26, 1947. Taft opposed the Marshall Plan as "futile and dangerous regimentation."

For three years in the House and Senate Democrats voted five to one for the Marshall Plan; Republicans split evenly, for and against it. A hard core of 20 Senators and 60 Representatives fought every aspect of the Plan. A much larger group voted to cripple it by making it a surplus dumping program or a deal to help Franco. Three times in 1949 the Marshall Plan survived by five votes or less.

Our fourth effort in reconstruction was the "bold new program" to raise living standards in backward areas. President Truman proposed the Point Four program as a program of capital investment and technical assistance. The capital investment, sorely needed in Asia, was ridiculed by Republicans in Congress and never pressed by the Administration. Technical assistance was cut down until it represented less than one-tenth of one cent for every dollar of our national income. Nine out of ten Republicans voted to kill or cripple Point Four.

The Record In Asia

Yalta. A major issue in this campaign is the Yalta conference. Orators make the wildest charges about Yalta in the belief that Americans have forgotten what happened there.

"The failure of the Democrats' foreign policy starts

APOLOGIES TO STEIG

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with . . . Yalta," says the Republican White Paper. At Yalta, the Republican members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee add: "The Kremlin was in effect given a green light to grab whatever it could in China, Korea, and Formosa." Senator William Jenner (R, Ind.) is a little more blunt: "At Yalta, under the influence of Alger Hiss, a dying American President sold Asia down the river."

Those are grave charges. What is the truth?

The Yalta Conference was held in February, 1945. Its purpose was to arrange for the creation of the United Nations, the occupation of Europe, and the entry of the USSR into the war against Japan. To gain this last objective the US agreed to the restoration of rights Russia had previously held in Manchuria, and to the transfer to Russia of Japan's Kurile Islands.

"The agreement," wrote James Byrnes later on, "was in great part a military decision." Japan had huge self-sustaining armies in China, Manchuria, Formosa and Korea. Nothing was known then of the power of the atomic bomb. The military view, outlined by Secretary of War Stimson in July, 1945, was that the Allies faced ". . . the enormous task of destroying an armed force of five million men and 5,000 suicide aircraft belonging to a race which had already amply demonstrated its ability to fight literally to the death. . . . We were planning . . . an invasion . . . expected to cost over a million casualties to American forces alone."

Who among the critics of 1950 would have rejected military advice and risked those tremendous losses, five years before?

Certainly concessions were made by America and Britain. Russia in turn agreed to sign a treaty of friendship with Chiang Kai-shek which was urgently demanded by Ambassador Hurley to discourage Communist ambitions and support the tottering regime of Chiang. Russia further agreed to accept minority status in a democratic world organization in place of the Concert of Great Powers which she proposed should run the world. "The Yalta record," Secretary of State Edward Stettinius concluded, "reveals that the Soviet Union made more concessions to the United States and Great Britain than were made to the Soviet Union by either Great Britain or the United States."

China. China is a second major issue this year. The general Republican line is that it was turned over to the Communists by treacherous Soviet agents and sympathizers in the Department of State.

Which is more fantastic—the notion that a few obscure Americans could deliver 450 million Chinese to anyone, or the belief that China was ours, to keep or give away?

China, like all Asia, is caught in the sweep of a revolution in which the values of 3,000 years are breaking up. Its root causes are the pressures of population, creating a need for drastic land reform, and the appeal of Western and Communist ideas.

Sun Yat Sen led this revolutionary movement down the road to democracy. Chiang Kai-shek tried to turn it back down a blind alley of despotism. It surged on and the Communists reached for its control. From 1940 on experts warned that the Communists would win unless the Kuomintang reformed itself. Those warnings are distorted today to suggest sympathy for the Communist cause.

What could we do to save China? Our traditional policy was support of China's integrity and independence, and non-interference in her internal affairs. In wartime we moved in to supply her armies and to build bases to bomb Japan. Then we had to move farther in, to protect our bases, since the Kuomintang and the Communists had stopped fighting the Japanese in order to fight each other. A "desperate" situation of near collapse led Roosevelt to send General Joseph Stilwell to China in 1944 to command all the Chinese armies. He soon discovered that his work was being sabotaged by Chiang Kai-shek.

"Chiang Kai-shek," he reported, "has no intention of making further efforts to prosecute the war. . . . He has no intention of instituting a democratic regime. . . . He will only delay while grabbing for loans for the purpose of maintaining his present position, based on one-party government, a reactionary policy, and the suppression of democratic ideas with the active aid of his gestapo."

Stilwell's superior in China was a prominent Republican, Patrick Hurley. He reported that "the Communists are not in fact Communists, they are striving for democratic principles." He initiated the policy of bringing the Communists and the Nationalists together. He persisted in making such generous proposals to Molotov, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung that Averell Harriman, Ambassador to Moscow, and George Kennan, Counsellor of the State Department, found it necessary to repudiate his optimism.

In September, 1945, Japan surrendered. General Wedemeyer, Stilwell's successor, reported that Chiang was completely unprepared to occupy Manchuria. He recommended consolidation in North China and drastic

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"political and official reforms to remove . . . corruption and . . . prohibitive taxes." Chiang disregarded his advice on both counts. North China and Manchuria passed under Communist control. The Nationalists were doomed.

The United States then had three choices:

To pull completely out of China.

To make war on the Chinese Communists with US troops and weapons.

To salvage as much as possible of the Republic by compromise.

The third choice represented the *continuation* of Hurley's policies. It was the basis of General Marshall's mission to China. He called a truce. He worked for a representative government, a democratic constitution and a non-political army. The truce was disregarded by both sides. The Kuomintang continued to assassinate liberal and democratic leaders. Marshall's own good faith was undermined, first by the action of US armed forces in helping Chiang extend his lines, second by the action of the 80th Congress in voting aid to Chiang to heighten his ambition to wage a hopeless campaign.

One year after Marshall left China, Wedemeyer was sent to see if Chiang could be saved. He reported that even with unlimited aid, Chiang's "corrupt, reactionary and inefficient government" could not win. He proposed that Manchuria be taken over by the great powers, including Russia.

Meanwhile, at the insistence of the Republicans, we became more and more involved with Chiang. We gave him $2 billion, more than half his budget, and more aid, proportionately, than we gave any other country. Chiang never failed for lack of arms. We equipped 35 Nationalist divisions. The arms were turned over to the Communists without a fight and used against Chiang later.

Formosa. The Communists took power in China with the greatest momentum ever gathered by a Chinese revolution. Our policy could only be to return to our traditional course of non-interference, and support for China's integrity, in an effort to win back the respect of the Chinese and to steer Chinese nationalist impulse away from Soviet control.

Chiang Kai-shek fled to Formosa. From there he proposed to reconquer China with US troops and arms. Immediately his US backers rushed to his support, promising to make America a party to his schemes. With the support of General MacArthur, Senators Knowland (R, Calif.), Bridges (R, N.Y.), Wherry (R, Neb.), Smith (R, N.J.), Taft (R, Ohio) and others tried to force America back onto the beaten side of the Chinese civil war. Walter Lippmann called their demands "sheer lunacy."

When South Korea was invaded, Truman moved to neutralize Formosa until the Korean war was won. Again MacArthur and the Republicans tried to force us into an outright military alliance with Chiang Kai-shek. Their action would have pushed us into a war against Communist China without allies and without an end. A million American casualties might have been the cost of a settlement, while the Russians stood by, or overran the rest of the world. MacArthur's provocation of the Chinese at a moment when all our efforts were devoted to keeping China out of the Korean war was, as Lippmann wrote, "political recklessness that might have precipitated a world war" if President Truman had not acted with such courage and decision.

Conclusion. Who was firm? *Life,* the mouthpiece of the China Lobby and the preventive war crowd, spells out the Republican line for this autumn—*Get Acheson!* "Acheson," says *Life,* "is the symbol of appeasement of Communism and . . . of soft-headed, unrealistic thinking. . . ."

Acheson was a main force in building the UN. He helped to formulate the Truman Doctrine. He led in backing the Marshall Plan. Today he is fighting to strengthen the UN; to integrate Germans in an Atlantic armed force; to conclude a peace treaty with Japan. Who could be more anti-Communist? Only those who cry for preventive war or gamble on provoking war

(Continued on page 20)

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EXPLANATION OF SENATE VOTING CHART

1. Point Four (5/5/50). The Administration blocked an attempt by Sen. Eugene Millikin (R, Colo.) to sidetrack the Point Four program designed to give technical aid to undeveloped areas abroad. An amendment by Sen. Tom Connally (D, Tex.) to include Point Four in the ECA program passed by a one-vote margin, 37-36.

2. Cut Foreign Aid (5/5/50). Republicans were defeated in two attempts to cut the authorization for the Economic Coöperation Administration for next year. When Sen. James Kem (R, Mo.) failed in an attempt to decrease the appropriation by $1 billion, Republican Senators Taft (Ohio), Ives (N. Y.), Hendrickson (N. J.), Hickenlooper (Iowa) and Bridges (N. H.) offered an amendment to reduce it by $500 million. This failed on a tie vote 40-40, when Vice-President Barkley voted against the cut.

3. Loan to Spain (8/3/50). Despite the opposition of President Truman and the Department of State, the Senate passed the general appropriations bill of 1951 with a provision earmarking $100 million for a loan to Franco Spain. An attempt by Senator Kilgore (D, W. Va.) to have the Senate reconsider the Spanish loan was blocked by Senator McCarran's (D, Nev.) motion to table it, which passed 65-15. Only 2 Republicans and 13 Democrats voted with Kilgore. Four other Senators—Benton (Conn.), Flanders (Vt.), Green (R. I.) and Thomas (Utah)—had previously voted against the loan but were absent when McCarran's motion was considered. 31 Democrats and 34 Republicans backed McCarran.

4. Middle-Income Housing (3/15/50). Senator Bricker (R, Ohio), acting for the real-estate lobby, offered an amendment to delete Title III of the Housing Act authorizing the government to make direct mortgage loans to coöperatives, making possible low-cost housing for middle-income families. Bricker's amendment passed, 43-38, with 32 Democrats and 6 Republicans opposing and 13 Democrats and 30 Republicans voting for it.

5. Rent Control (6/12/50). Republican spokesman for the landlord lobby, Harry Cain (Wash.), held the Senate floor for 12 hours to denounce rent control for forcing property owners into "involuntary servitude." Administration leaders were able to defeat a move to recommit the bill and then extended controls to January 1, 1951, by a vote of 36-28.

6. Natural Gas Exemption (3/29/50). Commonly referred to as the "gas grab," S. 1498, introduced by Sen. Robert S. Kerr (D, Okla.) for the gas and oil interests, would have exempted independent producers from regulation by the Federal Power Commission. The Senate passed the bill, 44-38. President Truman later vetoed it.

7. Anti-Trust Exemption (6/2/50). The attempt by the Big Steel and cement industries to legalize the basing-point system which permitted freight absorption and price discrimination was successful in the Senate. Despite Administration opposition, led by Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), the bill passed, 43-27. President Truman later vetoed it on the ground that it nullified a Supreme Court decision handed down in 1948.

8. Communist-Control Veto (9/23/50). The Senate by a vote of 70-7 passed an "anti-Communist" bill which embodied all the provisions of the Mundt-Nixon Communist registration bill plus those of a detention bill for internment of subversives in wartime. When President Truman courageously vetoed it, only 10 Democrats, no Republicans, voted to sustain his action.

9. FEPC (7/12/50). The Administration's second attempt to limit debate on a motion to take up FEPC fell nine votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority. Majority Leader Lucas' (Ill.) motion to invoke cloture in order to stave off a Southern filibuster on the controversial bill failed, 55-33. 6 Republicans voted with the 27 Southern Democrats against the cloture motion; 22 Democrats and 33 Republicans voted for it.

10. Social Security (6/20/50). The Administration, which won major ground in expansion of the social-security system this year, lost to Republicans on adoption of a motion by William F. Knowland (R, Calif.). The Knowland Amendment, passed 45-37, curbs the power of the federal government to cut off contributions to states not complying with federal standards for unemployment compensation. Labor vigorously opposed the amendment as depriving workers of protection against substandard wages and scab labor.

11. Farm Surpluses (6/26/50). The failure of Congress to pass the Brannan farm plan created a serious surplus of perishable products in the storerooms of the Commodity Credit Corporation. Funds to buy and make loans on supported commodities such as eggs, butter and other perishables ran out and an additional $2 billion was requested of Congress to keep farm prices level. By a 35-35 tie vote, finally broken by Vice-President Barkley, the Senate agreed to increase the borrowing power of CCC.

12. NLRB Reorganization (5/11/50). The reorganization plan for the National Labor Relations Board which would have ended the division of responsibility between the Board and its General Counsel failed in the Senate. Labor groups had strongly recommended that the job of the General Counsel be abolished. The resolution disapproving NLRB reorganization passed, 53-30.

13. Excess Profits (9/1/50). The $4.5 billion interim tax bill was voted by the Senate after a bitter fight to include an excess-profits provision effective immediately. Senators George (D, Ga.) and Millikin (R, Colo.) substituted an amendment instructing the Finance Committees to draw up an excess-profits tax bill for consideration in 1951. The Senate adopted the substitute, 42-36.

14. Defense Production (8/21/50). John Bricker (R, Ohio) sponsored an amendment to sabotage controls by tying price controls to wages. The amendment passed, 50-36. 12 Democrats and 38 Republicans voted for it; 34 Democrats and 2 Republicans opposed it.

15. Segregation in Army (6/22/50). One of the few test votes on a civil-rights issue in the Senate this year was on Senator Russell's (D, Ga.) amendment to the Draft Act to provide for segregation in the armed services if a majority of draftees and enlistees in 36 states express such preference after six months' operation of the Act. The amendment was rejected, 27-45, with 24 Democrats, mostly Southerners, and 3 Republicans favoring it.

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THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	1 Point Four	2 Cut Foreign Aid	3 Loan to Spain	4 Middle-Income Housing	5 Rent Control	6 Natural-Gas Exemption	7 Anti-Trust Exemption	8 Communist-Control Veto	9 FEPC	10 Social Security	11 Farm Surpluses	12 NLRB Reorganization	13 Excess Profits	14 Defense Production	15 Segregation in Army
ALABAMA															
Hill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
Sparkman	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
ARIZONA															
Hayden	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
McFarland	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
ARKANSAS															
Fulbright	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
McClellan	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
CALIFORNIA															
Downey	+	+	O	O	+	–	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	+	O
Knowland	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
COLORADO															
Johnson	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
Millikin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
CONNECTICUT															
Benton	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
McMahon	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE															
Frear	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–
Williams	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
FLORIDA															
Holland	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	+	–
Pepper	+	+	–	+	+	O	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	O
GEORGIA															
George	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Russell	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	–
IDAHO															
Dworshak	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	O	–	+	–	O
Taylor	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
ILLINOIS															
Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lucas	+	+	–	+	+	O	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA															
Capehart	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	O	–	–	–	+
Jenner	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
IOWA															
Gillette	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
Hickenlooper	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
KANSAS															
Darby	O	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	+
Schoeppel	O	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
KENTUCKY															
Chapman	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Withers	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	O	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
LOUISIANA															
Ellender	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Long	+	–	O	+	O	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
MAINE															
Brewster	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Smith	+	–	–	+	O	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
MARYLAND															
O'Conor	+	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	O	O	O	–	–	+	O
Tydings	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	O	+
MASSACHUSETTS															
Lodge	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
Saltonstall	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
MICHIGAN															
Ferguson	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Vandenberg	+	+	O	–	O	+	–	–	+	O	O	–	O	O	O
MINNESOTA															
Humphrey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thye	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+

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MISSISSIPPI															
Eastland	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	–
Stennis	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
MISSOURI															
Donnell	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Kem	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
MONTANA															
Ecton	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Murray	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA															
Butler	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Wherry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
NEVADA															
Malone	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
McCarran	O	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	O	+	+	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE															
Bridges	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Tobey	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	O	–	+	–	–	O
NEW JERSEY															
Hendrickson	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Smith	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
NEW MEXICO															
Anderson	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Chavez	+	–	–	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
NEW YORK															
Ives	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
Lehman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA															
Graham	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	–	O	O	O	+	+	–
Hoey	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
NORTH DAKOTA															
Langer	O	O	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O
Young	–	–	–	O	O	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	O
OHIO															
Bricker	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+
Taft	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
OKLAHOMA															
Kerr	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
Thomas	+	+	O	+	O	–	–	–	+	O	+	+	–	O	O
OREGON															
Cordon	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O
Morse	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
PENNSYLVANIA															
Martin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Myers	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND															
Green	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Leahy	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
SOUTH CAROLINA															
Johnston	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
Maybank	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
SOUTH DAKOTA															
Gurney	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mundt	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	+
TENNESSEE															
Kefauver	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
McKellar	–	+	–	+	+	–	O	–	–	+	+	+	–	O	–
TEXAS															
Connally	+	+	–	+	O	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
Johnson	+	+	–	+	O	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
UTAH															
Thomas	+	+	O	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Watkins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
VERMONT															
Aiken	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	O
Flanders	+	+	O	+	–	+	–	O	+	+	O	–	+	–	+
VIRGINIA															
Byrd	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Robertson	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
WASHINGTON															
Cain	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+
Magnuson	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA															
Kilgore	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Neely	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN															
McCarthy	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	+
Wiley	+	–	–	–	O	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	O
WYOMING															
Hunt	+	+	O	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
O'Mahoney	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [—] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced against progressivism, are tabulated [—]; those for, or announced for progressivism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate.

Names of Democrats are set in light type and Republicans in bold italic.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number on page 14.

The New Republic gratefully acknowledges its obligation to the "Congressional Quarterly" for the information in the charts published in this issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EXPLANATION OF HOUSE VOTING CHART

1. Point Four (3/31/50). A Republican move to abolish Point Four, President Truman's program for underdeveloped areas, was defeated by a vote of 150-220. The Smith (R, Wis.) motion to recommit the Foreign Economic Assistance Act with instructions to strike out Point Four had the support of 118 Republicans, 31 Democrats and 1 ALP member. 191 Democrats and 29 Republicans opposed it.

2. Cut Foreign Aid (5/10/50). A Republican-Southern Democrat coalition caused a $600 million reduction in total appropriations. Representatives Thomas (D, Tex.) and Taber (R, N.Y.) introduced the amendment which passed 273-113. 116 Democrats and 157 Republicans voted for the motion; 111 Democrats, 1 Republican and 1 ALP member voted against it.

3. Korean Aid (1/19/50). On the first foreign policy vote of the second session, the House voted down a $60 million authorization for aid to Korea. Most of the opposition stemmed from Republicans who objected to sending more money "down a rathole." The bill was defeated, 191-192, with 130 Republicans, 61 Democrats and 1 ALP member voting against it; 170 Democrats and 21 Republicans voting for it.

4. Far Eastern Aid (2/9/50). Aid to Korea, which had been defeated Jan. 19 by a Republican bloc, finally passed both houses. The bill authorized ECA to send $60 million to South Korea and made $103 million available to Formosa out of funds previously granted China. The vote was 240-134 with 198 Democrats and 42 Republicans favoring the bill; 91 Republicans, 42 Democrats, and 1 ALP member opposing it.

5. Social Security (8/16/50). On a technical issue, House Republicans by a 2-vote majority blocked Administration efforts to eliminate from the social security expansion bill the Knowland amendment, added by the Senate, restricting the Secretary of Labor from withholding contributions to states which fail to meet federal standards for unemployment compensation. Labor bitterly opposed this weakening of safeguards for workers. On passage of the anti-labor amendment, 68 Democrats and 120 Republicans voted yea; 165 Democrats, 20 Republicans and 1 ALP member voted nay. The vote was 188-186.

6. Middle-Income Housing (3/22/50). Representative Wolcott (R, Mich), spokesman for the real-estate lobby in the House, offered an amendment to the Housing Act of 1950 to delete Title I, providing loans to coöperatives through the National Mortgage Corporation for Coöperative Housing. The House accepted Wolcott's amendment by a vote of 218-155, with 137 Republicans and 81 Democrats voting for it; 141 Democrats, 13 Republicans and 1 ALP member opposing it.

7. Rent Control (6/21/50). Despite the pressure of the real-estate and landlord lobby to kill all rent control, the House managed to extend federal controls to December, 1950, with a provision that local areas could thereafter extend it until June 30, 1951. All but 25 Republicans voted against it. It passed, 176-145, with 150 Democrats, 25 Republicans and 1 ALP member favoring it; 106 Republicans and 39 Democrats opposing it.

8. Gas Regulation (3/31/50). The Kerr-Elmer Thomas "gas grab" bill, adopted by both the Senate and the House, would have taken away from the Federal Power Commission all regulatory authority over independent producers. The gas and oil lobby managed to muster a majority for passage. However, President Truman vetoed the bill. The House voted 176-174 to go along with the Senate on the measure.

9. Anti-Trust Exemption (3/14/50). The Big Steel and cement industries attempted to nullify the Supreme Court decision against certain freight absorption and pricing systems by Congressional passage of the basing-point bill. Both the House and the Senate passed the bill by narrow margins but President Truman vetoed it. In the House, Representative Carroll (D, Colo.) moved to kill the bill by sending the conference report back to Committee. His motion was rejected, 175-204, with 154 Democrats, 20 Republicans and 1 ALP member voting for it; 72 Democrats and 132 Republicans opposing it.

10. FEPC (2/22/50). Representative McConnell (R, Pa.), backed by Dixiecrats and Republicans, offered an amendment to the Administration bill creating a Fair Employment Practices Commission, but limiting it to "investigating and recommending." Had this substitute been defeated, the original FEPC bill would finally have come before the House and would probably have been approved. To prevent that, the Southerners joined the Republicans to pass the McConnell substitute by a vote of 222-178.

11. Communist-Control Veto (9/22/50). Representative Wood (D, Ga.) and Senator McCarran (D, Nev.) incorporated the provisions of the Mundt-Nixon bill into an omnibus security measure, requiring registration of Communist and "front" organizations and setting up a Subversive Activities Control Board. When Truman courageously vetoed the bill, only 45 Democrats, 1 ALP and 2 Republicans voted to sustain his action.

12. "Gag" Rule (1/20/50). On the first record vote of the second session, two-thirds of the Southern Democrats voted with the Republican leaders to restore bottleneck powers to the Rules Committee. This would have meant the end of hopes for most Fair Deal measures. Truman Democrats and the more realistic big-city Republicans combined to defeat it, 183-236.

13. Contempt Citation (8/30/50). Edward Rumely, executive secretary of the neo-fascist Committee for Constitutional Government, refused to tell the House Lobby Committee names of his financial backers. The House voted 183-175 to cite this neo-fascist for contempt of Congress despite strong opposition of Republican leaders Martin (Mass.) and Brown (Ohio), who had enthusiastically favored citing alleged Communists.

14. Credit Control (8/10/50). In the Defense Production Act of 1950 Republicans in the House attempted to limit the President's control powers over credit to consumer goods and real estate. Representative Wolcott's (R, Mich.) amendment, vigorously opposed by the Administration, was rejected, 173-224, with 210 Democrats, 13 Republicans and 1 ALP member opposing it; 23 Democrats and 140 Republicans voting for it.

15. Commodity Speculation (8/10/50). The President had asked for standby controls over commodity speculation. Southern Democrats and Republicans combined to reject the provisions, 198-194. However, the conference committee ultimately restored all of the powers requested by the President. On Representative Cooley's (D, N.C.) amendment to the Defense Production Act to prohibit control over commodity speculation 164 Democrats, 29 Republicans and 1 ALP member voted nay; 78 Democrats and 120 Republicans voted yea.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

Cong. District	Point Four	Cut Foreign Aid	Korean Aid	Far Eastern Aid	Social Security	Middle-Income Housing	Rent Control	Gas Regulation	Anti-Trust Exemption	FEPC	Communist-Control Veto	"Gag" Rule	Contempt Citation	Credit Control	Commodity Speculation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
ALABAMA															
3 Andrews	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
9 Battle	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
1 Boykin	O	O	O	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 deGraffenr'd	+	–	+	+	O	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
7 Elliott	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2 Grant	O	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
4 Hobbs	+	–	O	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
8 Jones	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
5 Rains	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
ARIZONA															
1 Murdock	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
2 Patten	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	O	+	+	+	+
ARKANSAS															
1 Gathings	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Harris	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
5 Hays	+	O	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
2 Mills	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
6 Norrell	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Tackett	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Trimble	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
CALIFORNIA															
7 *Allen*	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–
8 *Anderson*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
11 *Bramblett*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Engle	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
4 Havenner	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3 *Johnson*	+	–	+	+	O	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	O	O	O
23 McKinnon	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
6 Miller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
22 *Phillips*	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 *Scudder*	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
25 Shelley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 Sheppard	O	O	O	+	–	O	+	–	+	+	O	+	O	+	+
10 *Werdel*	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	–	–
9 White	–	+	–	–	+	+	O	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
Los Angeles County															
14 Douglas	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Doyle	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
20 *Hinshaw*	+	–	–	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	O	O
19 Holifield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 *Jackson*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 King	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 *McDonough*	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
12 *Nixon*	O	O	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	O	–	–
13 *Poulson*	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	+	–	–	–
COLORADO															
4 Aspinall	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Carroll	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 *Hill*	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	–	–
3 Marsalis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
CONNECTICUT															
4 *Lodge*	+	–	+	+	–	–	O	+	–	+	O	+	–	+	+
3 McGuire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
5 *Patterson*	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1 Ribicoff	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
AL *Sadlak*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2 Woodhouse	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE															
AL *Boggs*	–	–	–	+	O	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
FLORIDA															
2 Bennett	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
5 Herlong	+	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Peterson	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
6 Rogers	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Sikes	+	–	–	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	+
4 Smathers	O	O	O	O	–	O	–	O	O	O	–	–	O	+	–
GEORGIA															
10 Brown	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
4 Camp	+	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
2 Cox	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Davis	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Lanham	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
3 Pace	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	O	+	–
1 Preston	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
6 Vinson	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
8 Wheeler	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Wood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–

Cong. District	Point Four	Cut Foreign Aid	Korean Aid	Far Eastern Aid	Social Security	Middle-Income Housing	Rent Control	Gas Regulation	Anti-Trust Exemption	FEPC	Communist-Control Veto	"Gag" Rule	Contempt Citation	Credit Control	Commodity Speculation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
IDAHO															
2 *Sanborn*	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 White	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O
ILLINOIS															
16 *Allen*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
17 *Arends*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
26 *Bishop*	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
19 *Chiperfield*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
23 *Jenison*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 Mack	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
15 *Mason*	–	–	–	–	O	–	+	+	+	O	–	–	–	O	O
22 *McMillen*	–	O	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	O	O	–	–	O	O
25 Price	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 *Reed*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
20 *Simpson*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 *Velde*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
24 *Vursell*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–
Chicago—Cook County															
4 Buckley	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
11 Chesney	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
13 Vacancy															
1 Dawson	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
8 Gordon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	O	+	+	+	+
10 *Hoffman*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+	O	–	–	–	O
12 *Jonas*	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	–
5 Vacancy															
3 Linehan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
6 O'Brien	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 O'Hara	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Sabath	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+
9 Yates	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA															
3 Crook	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	O
8 Denton	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	O	O
2 *Halleck*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
6 *Harden*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 *Harvey*	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
11 Jacobs	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 Kruse	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1 Madden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
7 Noland	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
5 Walsh	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
9 *Wilson*	–	–	–	O	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
IOWA															
5 *Cunningham*	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
6 *Dolliver*	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Gross	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
8 *Hoeven*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 *Jensen*	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 *LeCompte*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 *Martin*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
2 *Talle*	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	O
KANSAS															
1 *Cole*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 *Hope*	+	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 *Meyer*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
4 *Rees*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 *Scrivner*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 *Smith*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	O
KENTUCKY															
8 Bates	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	O	–	+	+	+
4 Chelf	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
9 *Golden*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Gregory	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	+	+
3 *Morton*	+	–	–	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
7 Perkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	O	+	+	+	+
5 Spence	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	O	–	+	+	+	+
6 *Underwood*	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	O	+	+	+	+
2 Whitaker	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	–	–	O	–	+	+	+	+
LOUISIANA															
8 Allen	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	–	+	–	O	–	–	+	+
2 Boggs	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
4 Brooks	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
1 Hebert	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	O	–	–
7 Larcade	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	O	–	O	+	–
6 Morrison	+	O	+	+	+	O	–	–	+	–	O	–	+	+	–
5 Passman	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Willis	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	O	–	+	+	–
MAINE															
3 *Fellows*	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 *Hale*	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 *Nelson*	O	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	O	+	–	–	+
MARYLAND															
6 *Beall*	–	–	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Bolton	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
4 Fallon	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
3 Garmatz	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1 *Miller*	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Sasscer	+	–	O	+	+	–	+	O	+	–	–	O	+	+	+

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [–] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced against progressivism, are tabulated [–]; those for, or announced for progressivism [+]. Those paired generally, absent or not voting are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress.

Names of Democrats are set in light type and Republicans in bold italic.

The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.

A short explanation of each of the votes appears, with a corresponding number on page 16.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD OF

Cong. District	Point Four	Cut Foreign Aid	Korean Aid	Far Eastern Aid	Social Security	Middle-Income Housing	Rent Control	Gas Regulation	Anti-Trust Exemption	FEPC	Communist-Control Veto	"Gag" Rule	Contempt Citation	Credit Control	Commodity Speculation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
MASSACHUSETTS															
6 *Bates*	–	–			–	–	–	+	–		–		–	–	–
4 Donohue	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2 Furcolo	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
8 *Goodwin*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 *Herter*	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1 *Heselton*	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
11 Kennedy	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	+	–	+	–	+	–	O	O
7 Lane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
14 *Martin*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12 McCormack	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	O	+	+	+	+
9 *Nicholson*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
3 Philbin	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 *Rogers*	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
13 *W'gsw'th*	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
MICHIGAN															
12 *Bennett*	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
6 *Blackney*	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	–	–
8 *Crawford*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 *Engel*	–	–	O	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	O	+	O	–	–
5 *Ford*	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
4 *Hoffman*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 *Michener*	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 *Potter*	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
3 *Shafer*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 *Wolcott*	O	O	–	–	O	–	–	O	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
10 *Woodruff*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	–	–	–	–	–
Detroit—Wayne County															
15 Dingell	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	O
17 *Dondero*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
16 Vacancy															
13 O'Brien	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	–	+	+
14 Rabaut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1 Sadowski	–	+	–	–	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	O
MINNESOTA															
7 *Andersen*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
1 *Andresen*	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Blatnik	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 *Hagen*	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	–
5 *Judd*	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	O	–	–
6 Marshall	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	O	–	O	+	+	+	+	+
4 McCarthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
2 *O'Hara*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	–	–
3 Wier	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
MISSISSIPPI															
4 Abernethy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Colmer	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1 Rankin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Whitten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
3 Whittington	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Williams	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	–
5 Winstead	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	O	O
MISSOURI															
5 Bolling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Carnahan	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Christopher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Irving	+	–	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
10 Jones	+	+	+	–	–	–	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12 Karst	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13 Karsten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1 Magee	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	O
2 Moulder	+	–	–	+	+	+	O	–	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
7 *Short*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Sullivan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Welch	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MONTANA															
2 *D'Ewart*	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Mansfield	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA															
1 *Curtis*	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 *Miller*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 O'Sullivan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
3 *Stefan*	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEVADA															
AL Baring	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE															
2 *Cotton*	+	–	–	+	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1 *Merrow*	+	–	+	+	–	–	O	–	O	–	–	+	–	–	–
NEW JERSEY															
11 Addonizio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
3 *Auchincloss*	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
8 *Canfield*	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
6 *Case*	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
5 *Eaton*	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	O	–	O	O	–	–	O	O
2 *Hand*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
14 Hart	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 Howell	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
12 *Kean*	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
13 Norton	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
10 Rodino	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+

Cong. District	Point Four	Cut Foreign Aid	Korean Aid	Far Eastern Aid	Social Security	Middle-Income Housing	Rent Control	Gas Regulation	Anti-Trust Exemption	FEPC	Communist-Control Veto	"Gag" Rule	Contempt Citation	Credit Control	Commodity Speculation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
New Jersey (continued)															
7 *Widnall*	+	–				–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
9 *Towe*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	O	–	–	–	+
1 *Wolverton*	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
NEW MEXICO															
AL Fernandez	+	–	+	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
AL Miles	O	O	–	+	+	O	O	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
NEW YORK															
32 Byrne	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
39 *Cole*	–	–	+	+											O
35 Davies	+	+	–	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
28 *Gamble*	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
44 Gorski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
27 *Gwinn*	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
37 *Hall, E. A.*	–	–	–	+	O	–	O	O	–	+	O	+	O	–	–
2 *Hall, L. W.*	–	–	+	+											
31 *Kearney*	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	O	–
40 *Keating*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
34 *Kilburn*	+	–	O	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
30 *LeFevre*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 *Macy*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	–
42 *Pf'ff'r, W. L.*	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	O	–	–	O	O
45 *Reed*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	–	+	–	–	–
36 *Riehlman*	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	O	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
29 *St. George*	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
38 *Taber*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
43 Tauriello	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
33 *Taylor*	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
41 *Wadsworth*	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–
New York City															
25 Buckley	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
15 Celler	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Clemente	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17 *Coudert*	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
6 Delaney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Dollinger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Heffernan	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Heller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21 *Javits*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Kelly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Keogh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Klein	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Latham*	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+
23 Lynch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Marc'tonio	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
26 McGrath	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14 Multer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16 Murphy	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	O
13 O'Toole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Pfeifer, J. L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
22 Powell	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
5 Quinn	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	O	O	O
12 Rooney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Roosevelt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA															
3 Barden	O	–	–	–	O	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	O	–	–
1 Bonner	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
11 Vacancy															
7 Carlyle	+	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
5 Chatham	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	+	+	–
4 Cooley	+	–	+	+	–	+	O	–	+	–	O	+	+	–	–
8 Deane	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
9 Doughton	O	–	O	+	O	–	+	O	–	–	–	O	+	+	–
6 Durham	+	–	O	+	O	–	–	–	+	–	–	O	O	+	–
10 Jones	+	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2 Kerr	+	–	O	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
12 Redden	+	–	+	+	O	–	–	–	+	–	O	–	+	+	–
NORTH DAKOTA															
AL *Burdick*	–	–	O	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	+
Vacancy															
OHIO															
22 *Bolton*	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3 Breen	+	+	–	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	–
11 *Brehm*	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	–	–	+	O	–	–	O	O
7 *Brown*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Burke	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 *Clevenger*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 Crosser	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1 *Elston*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
20 Feighan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
18 Hays	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
14 Huber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 *Jenkins*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
19 Kirwan	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
4 *McCulloch*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 *McGregor*	–	–	–	–	O	–	O	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
16 McSweeney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
6 Polk	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
15 Secrest	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
8 *Smith*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	O	O	–	O	–	–
12 Vorys	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2 Wagner	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
13 *Welchel*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
AL Young	+	–	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HOUSE (cont'd)

Cong. District	Point Four	Cut Foreign Aid	Korean Aid	Far Eastern Aid	Social Security	Middle-Income Housing	Rent Control	Gas Regulation	Anti-Trust Exemption	FEPC	Communist-Control Veto	"Gag" Rule	Contempt Citation	Credit Control	Commodity Speculation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
OKLAHOMA															
3 Albert	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
1 Gilmer	O	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	O	−	+	+
5 Monroney	+	−	+	O	−	+	O	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
6 Morris	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
4 Steed	+	−	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
2 Stigler	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	−	O	+	+	+	+
7 Wickersham	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
8 Wilson	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
OREGON															
3 *Angell*	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	O	+	O	+	+
4 *Ellsworth*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	+
1 *Norblad*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	−	+	O	−	+
2 *Stockman*	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
PENNSYLVANIA															
33 Buchanan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
23 Cavalcante	−	O	O	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
30 *Corbett*	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
9 *Dague*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O
29 Davenport	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
32 Eberharter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	+
12 *Fenton*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−	−
11 Flood	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
31 *Fulton*	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
19 *Gavin*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
14 *Gillette*	−	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	O	O
25 *Graham*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
7 *James*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
28 *Kearns*	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
27 Kelley	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
18 *Kunkel*	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	−	+	O	+	+	+	+
8 *Lichtenwalter*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	−	−	O	+	+	−	−
21 Lind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
16 *McConnell*	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
24 Morgan	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
10 O'Neill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
13 Rhodes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
15 *Rich*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	+	−	−	−
26 Saylor	−	−	−	O	+	O	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+	−
17 *Simpson*	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
22 *Van Zandt*	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	O	−	−
20 Walter	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
Philadelphia															
1 Barrett	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
4 Chudoff	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Granahan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
5 Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Scott, Hardie*	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
6 *Scott, Hugh*	+	−	−	−	O	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	O	O
RHODE ISLAND															
2 Fogarty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1 Forand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA															
4 Bryson	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
3 Hare	−	O	−	+	O	−	O	−	+	−	O	−	O	O	O
6 McMillan	−	O	O	O	−	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	O	+	−
5 Richards	+	−	+	+	−	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	+	O	−
1 Rivers	−	O	−	−	−	O	O	−	O	−	−	−	O	O	O
2 Sims	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
SOUTH DAKOTA															
2 *Case*	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	−
1 *Lovre*	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
TENNESSEE															
9 Cooper	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
10 Davis	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
5 Evins	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
3 Frazier	+	−	−	+	+	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
4 Gore	+	+	+	+	O	−	O	−	O	−	−	+	O	+	−
2 *Jennings*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Cong. District	Point Four	Cut Foreign Aid	Korean Aid	Far Eastern Aid	Social Security	Middle-Income Housing	Rent Control	Gas Regulation	Anti-Trust Exemption	FEPC	Communist-Control Veto	"Gag" Rule	Contempt Citation	Credit Control	Commodity Speculation
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Tennessee (continued)															
8 Murray	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−
1 *Phillips*	−	−	O	−	+	+	O	+	+	−	−	−	O	+	+
6 Priest	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
7 Sutton	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−
TEXAS															
3 Beckworth	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
15 Bentsen	+	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
17 Burleson	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
2 Combs	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+
21 Fisher	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
13 Gossett	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	O
20 Kilday	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
12 Lucas	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
14 Lyle	+	−	+	+	O	O	O	−	+	−	O	−	+	+	−
19 Mahon	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
1 Patman	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	+	O	−	−	+	+	+
7 Pickett	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
11 Poage	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	+	−	−
4 Rayburn															
16 Regan	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	O
6 Teague	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
8 Thomas	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+	+
9 Thompson	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
10 Thornberry	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	O	−	+	+	+
5 Wilson	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
18 *Gulil*		−			−		−				−			−	−
UTAH															
2 Bosone	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
1 Granger	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
VERMONT															
AL *Plumley*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−
VIRGINIA															
4 Abbitt	+	−	O	+	−	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
1 Robeson					−		+								
6 Burton	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
9 Fugate	+	−	O	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
3 Gary	+	−	+	+	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
2 Hardy	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
7 Harrison	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
8 Smith	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
5 Stanley	−	−	O	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON															
4 *Holmes*	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
5 *Horan*	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2 Jackson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 *Mack*	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	−
1 Mitchell	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
6 *Tollefson*	−	−	−	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	−	−	+
WEST VIRGINIA															
3 Bailey	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
4 Burnside	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	O	−	+	+	+
6 Hedrick	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
5 Kee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
1 Ramsay	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
2 Staggers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN															
5 Biemiller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 *Byrnes*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
2 *Davis*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
9 *Hull*	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
6 *Keefe*	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O
7 *Murray*	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	O	−
10 O'Konski	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+
1 *Smith*	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	O	−	−
3 *Withrow*	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+
4 Zablocki	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
WYOMING															
AL *Barrett*	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	O	O

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(Continued from page 13)

while refusing to the US the means of mobilizing this nation and arming our allies.

Korea sums it up. *Life* quotes Acheson as telling Russia "that the US did not consider Korea worth fighting for." That is a flat lie. Acheson, in the speech referred to, said that Korea was not part of the strategic defense line prepared by our Joint Chiefs of Staff. He added that any attack, in Korea or elsewhere, would be met by "the commitments of the entire civilized world under the Charter of the United Nations."

The Administration led in appropriating $800 million for South Korea between 1946 and the Communist invasion. The Republicans fought this aid. They voted, 137 to 8, to cut $50 million from Korean military aid on August 18, 1949. They voted in the House 81 to 54 to oppose the final appropriations bill. They voted 130 to 21 to deny ECA to South Korea on January 19, 1950.

Typically, Richard Nixon, California's professional "anti-Communist," voted to withhold aid from embattled South Korea. The record proves that those who shout the loudest have done the least to oppose Communism.

In dealing with Russia, the Truman Administration was at no time softer than the situation demanded. In supporting world reconstruction the Administration showed greatness in the Marshall Plan. Truman understood that progress was the alternative to Communism. His major weakness was in allowing America's incomparable prestige and power to be placed behind reactionary and imperialist regimes that tried to withstand the world's irresistible demand for social change. Today, in seeking to strengthen the UN, to unify and arm the free nations, and to raise the living standards of backward areas, Truman has developed a program that can halt Communism without a world war.

In contrast, the Republicans have failed to unite behind a basic program that can maintain peace. That is because their foreign policy is a by-product of their domestic stand.

They cannot admit that the world is demanding drastic social change. Therefore, they must underestimate the Communist appeal. They are organized to delay social progress at home. Therefore they cannot concede that progress is the alternative to Communism.

They insist on holding down the responsibilities of the federal government. Therefore, they must try to cut down government-financed programs to raise the living standards and strengthen the defenses of the free nations.

In the absence of any positive program they seek increasingly to win by tearing down the government of the US. Three years ago Vandenberg gave his party wisdom and responsibility. Now it has passed largely into the hands of extremists, who risk war for political profit, call Acheson a traitor, and damn General Marshall, to quote Senator Jenner, as "a front man for traitors . . . a living lie." Those attacks have passed beyond the boundaries of responsible opposition. They have weakened the faith of Americans in their government, undermined the US abroad, served the interests of Soviet Russia at a critical time, and so brought us closer to war.

DEMOCRACY IS A WEAPON

BY STRENGTHENING the free nations, by raising living standards in backward areas, by giving the UN the power to deter aggression, we can halt world Communism without a third world war.

Can we halt it without giving up our own freedom, here in the United States?

That is the second great question we face.

All loyal Americans despise the Communist Party.

Yet our Constitution treats all citizens as equal under the law and guarantees them full freedom of thought and expression.

Many honest Americans believe that our Constitution is obsolete; that our security compels us to suppress the Communists at any price.

How can we suppress Communists and leave loyal citizens alone?

For five years the trade unions and organizations where Communists work have carried out a mounting and successful offensive against the Communist Party.

For five years the government has carried out a parallel offensive: expelling alien Communists; prosecuting Communist leaders; strengthening the espionage laws; forcing out of government service the one public servant in ten thousand who is suspect.

For five years bigots and politicians who trade in fear have sought to subvert our Constitution by thought-control legislation. They have decried the tremendous long-range efforts of the democracies to halt world Communism. They have reduced this conflict to the level of dime-detective stories. They have diverted the attention of Americans from our front lines against Communism in Bombay and Berlin. They have fostered the illusion that we can achieve security by poking under our beds at night and suppressing our own minute Communist Party. They have sapped the faith of Americans in the integrity and honesty of two million federal civil servants.

Their efforts culminated in the Communist-control

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law, vetoed by the President and passed over his veto with the support of most Democrats and all but three Republicans in Congress. Four principal reasons led President Truman to condemn the bill as "a clear and present danger to our institutions."

It undermines our security. The President stated: "The Department of Justice, the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of State have all advised me that the bill would seriously damage the security and intelligence operations for which they are responsible. They have expressed the hope that the bill would not become law."

Second, it is useless against Communists. The Act, the President states, "would not hurt the Communists. It would help them."

The Act tries to compel Communists to register. That, as Truman commented, "is about as practical as requiring thieves to register with the sheriff." When they fail to register they must be prosecuted. Prosecution, Truman adds, "could only result in wasting the energies of the Department of Justice, destroying the sources of information of its FBI," and diverting that agency "from its vital security duties."

It would punish loyal Americans. The Act requires "Communist-front organizations" to register all their members, funds and supporters. It directs a Subversive Activities Control Board to determine whether an organization is a Communist front according to "the extent to which the positions taken or advanced by it from time to time on matters of policy do not deviate from those" of the Communist movement. The President comments: "These provisions . . . can be the greatest danger to freedom of speech, press and assembly since the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798."

The President adds: "An organization which advocates low-cost housing for sincere humanitarian reasons might be classified as a Communist-front organization because the Communists regularly exploit slum conditions as one of their fifth-column techniques.

"It is not enough to state that this probably would not be done." The President concludes, "The mere fact that it could be done shows how the bill would . . . move towards totalitarianism."

It is not enough to argue that Communists and non-Communists can be distinguished. The US Chamber of Commerce, in testifying for the Act, insisted on linking together Communism and "democratic socialism." The American Veterans' Committee testified that other veterans' organizations constantly lumped advocates of world government and Communists together as traitors.

It is not enough to argue that the government will be cautious in not prosecuting organizations that are legal. The mere threat of prosecution is enough to silence criticism. And criticism is democracy's lifeblood.

It saps our democracy. Free speech is not a phrase to wind up an oration, or an heirloom to be put away for safekeeping until good times return.

The Communists may excel us in potential resources. They far excel us in manpower and armed forces. The greatest source of strength we hold and they do not is freedom of speech.

In every society greed and corruption and incompetence are always present. In a police state no counter force exists to check these forces. In a democracy, the counter force is free speech. Greed is recognized, corruption punished, incompetence exposed, error set right, because voices of protest are able to speak out in a democracy with the protection of society itself. Take away that protection and you take away our assurance of competent leadership, of sound direction, of prevention of human error. You take away our main hope of victory over world Communism.

STRENGTHENING THE UNITED STATES

IMMEDIATELY AFTER our forces entered Korea, President Truman informed the nation that it was "more important now than ever before that we maintain and expand our strength on the home front. For the sinews of all our strength, everywhere in the world, are found in what we achieve here at home." He then asked Congress for certain controls to prevent runaway prices and reckless profiteering in the emergency, and to increase our ability to produce.

"We face a two-fold task," the President declared in his July Economic Report to Congress. "First, to get as much total production as we can; and, second, to emphasize the right kind of production and the best utilization of the product." His plans called for selective controls over production and prices where and as needed, and for government programs to secure added production and supply in certain key industries.

The same Republicans who had voted to kill the OPA in 1945 and 1946 and had defeated Truman's request for stand-by controls in 1948 and 1949 now began to scream for full price and wage controls and to criticize the President for not demanding a complete freeze of the economy immediately. Representative Jesse Wolcott (R, Mich.), who as chairman of the House Banking Committee had presided over the liquidation of the OPA in the Republican 80th Congress, thought he saw a

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chance to turn 1950 into another 1946 for the GOP. The crass Republican idea was that they might be able to turn the voters against the President's party by forcing unwanted and unworkable control powers upon him. Senate Minority Leader Kenneth Wherry, who had no peer as an enemy of inflation controls throughout World War II, took up the cry for a general freeze.

When the time came to vote, however, the Republicans lined up solidly behind amendments to the control bill weakening President Truman's powers to stop inflation and prevent war profiteering. Senator Robert Taft (R, Ohio) led the move to cut out federal subsidies that would have allowed reasonable price ceilings on food.

Twenty-eight Republicans and Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia were voted down on another Taft amendment for special machinery on defense labor disputes.

Senator John Bricker presented the ultimate in amendments to hamper the President in halting inflation, when he proposed that no price or wage ceiling be allowed in any one industry unless established in all others at the same time, regardless of the need. Every Republican but two supported this scheme.

House Republicans were even more flagrant in their attempts to load the controls program in favor of business at the expense of consumers. The President had emphasized the importance of restricting credit as a bar to inflation. Representative Wolcott urged two amendments, backed by House Republicans, which would have made a mockery of credit control. To insure "business as usual" for the real-estate interests, Wolcott and 140 Republicans pushed through a provision specifying that credit controls be limited to real-estate construction started after August 3, 1950, thus eliminating all previous housing from such controls. Wolcott next tried unsuccessfully to free all business except the consumer-goods industries and real estate from credit restrictions.

The President asked for authority to relieve the inflationary pressure caused by speculation. By joining with Southern Democrats interested in protecting cotton traders, the Republicans were able to eliminate any power over commodity speculation from the House bill. When an amendment to provide for including controls on rents was offered by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.), not one House Republican rose in favor of it.

Had President Truman been given the authority he requested in 1948 and again at the beginning of the 81st Congress "to take effective action [when] . . . our prosperity is threatened by inflationary pressures," he would have been in a position to cope with the spiraling prices of this summer. Had all the amendments supported by the Republican leadership passed, the President would have been left powerless to fight inflation.

As we prepared to meet the Korean crisis, President Truman stressed the urgency of realizing the full "productive power of our economy, and its capacity for further growth."

"Increased production of the right kind of goods will lessen inflationary strains," Mr. Truman pointed out. The President proposed that $2 billion be earmarked for expanding the production of iron ore and steel, aluminum, copper, lead and zinc, and various means of transportation, through special government corporations. Senator Taft took the floor against the expansion program and succeeded in cutting the $2 billion authorization down to $600 million and requiring that all expansion projects be administered through the inflexible RFC. The straitjacket Taft managed to place on the President in regard to expansion will slow the increase of our industrial output.

The Republicans in the 81st Congress not only fought the President's attempts to apply controls intelligently and to increase production; they also blackjacked the Administration into settling for a far-too-small tax program, full of loopholes for the rich, and lacking any provision at all covering excess war profits. Combining with their reactionary friends from the South, Senate Republicans threatened no tax increase this year at all if the President asked more than the most moderate increase in present corporation rates. With corporate profits at an all-time high of $25 billion, two and a half times their peak in World War II, and estimated defense expenditures for 1950 already close to $30 billion, the Administration should have demanded that Congress levy many billions more in taxes this year. For fear that the opposition would fulfill its threat and pass no tax bill at all if he made a large request, President Truman compromised on an inadequate $4.5 billion tax budget.

When liberal Democrats indignantly organized a floor move for an excess-profits tax, 21 low-tax Republicans in the Senate, led by Eugene Millikin (R, Colo.) were able to collect enough Southern friends to defeat the motion, 42 to 36.

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"We cannot afford an economy which performs below its best when nothing but the best will assure the triumph of freedom and of right," President Truman warned in his latest Economic Report to Congress. Had the Republican Party had its way this year, our economy would be performing so far below its best that we should be dangerously weak at a time when it is of the highest importance that we should be strong.

THE BALLOT BOX IS THE ANSWER

THE Truman Administration has been a minority party in this Congress. Although the Democrats won nominal control of both Houses in November, 1948, the old coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats has continued to operate. The Truman program has prevailed only when a sizable block of Southerners or of Republicans could be won over on individual issues.

This November, 36 Senators and all the members of the House will come before the voters. Experts class 150 of the 435 House Districts as "doubtful," and 17 of the 36 Senate seats as "marginal."

There are 10 Senate contests and 54 House races in the "doubtful" class in which liberal candidates have a strong chance to upset conservative incumbents. Liberal victory in two-thirds of those districts would give the President a working majority in both the House and Senate. While those gains were being made, however, 84 incumbent Administration supporters in the House and seven in the Senate would have to be reëlected.

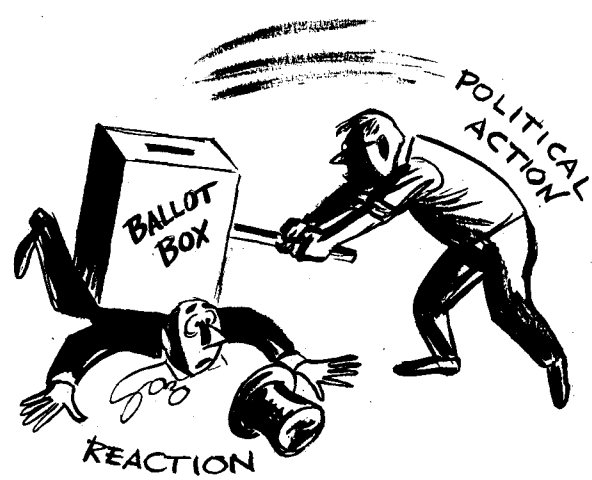
Even small gains would make a considerable difference to the Administration program. In the first session of the 81st Congress, a switch of three votes would have passed most of the Fair Deal measures that were defeated in the Senate. A change of three votes, for instance, would have passed the Lucas substitute for the Taft-Hartley Act and would have defeated the second blessing of the anti-labor law which Taft succeeded in persuading the Senate to give. A three-vote change would have won the fight to alter the rule governing filibusters. In the second session, an excess-profits tax could have been enacted in the Senate and cloture to permit consideration of FEPC could have been invoked, with three more votes. An additional 40 votes on the Administration's side in the House would assure the Fair Deal program almost in toto.

The essential problem for the Democrats in this Congress, as in years past, has been the Southerners. The official party lineup lists 262 Democrats and 169 Republicans. But 118 of the Democrats are Southerners of varying loyalty to the Party. The ECA appropriations were cut because Southern Democrats voted almost five to one with the Republicans. Conservative-minded Southerners deserted the Administration heavily in order to support "business as usual" instead of effective controls over credit and speculation. Natural-gas companies almost got away with a $4-billion grab from the government because 97 Southern Democrats joined the Republicans for the special interests.

The number of fair-minded men being sent to Congress from the South is slowly increasing. So far as the next Congress is concerned, however, the elections are over in Dixie, where the primaries are decisive, and signs are that the Southern delegation to the 82nd Congress will divide in about the same way as it has for the past two years. The country must look to the North and West to elect a progressive majority. Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois and Indiana are considered ripe for the Democrats, as are California and Oregon. Voters in those states this year will be deciding more than their own local representation. They will be determining the amount of authority with which the President of the United States can speak to the free nations of the world in regard to our intentions.

In this, as in all off-year elections in this country, the decisive factor is likely to be the size of the vote. In 1946, when the total vote sank to 34 million, and the Republicans proportionately turned out in far larger numbers than the disgruntled Democrats, the result was the infamous 80th Congress. The Democrats generally suffer when interest in an election declines. The political-action work of organized labor in getting out the vote on the progressive side is, therefore, more important than it was even in the 1948 Presidential election year.

Fifty million votes in ballot boxes this November might mean victory for democracy in the world.



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HAROLD L. ICKES: *National Hysteria*

THE FEAR in which we have been living has become epidemic. Franklin D. Roosevelt cautioned us in a voice that contained no note of fear that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." Yet brother fears brother; and son, father. Neighbor fears neighbor. With few exceptions, when Stalin is mentioned, our knees refuse to support us. Rather than a message on the State of the Union, we ought to have one on the State of Hysteria.

No longer is courage an American characteristic. Other countries fight Communism hand to hand, but not we in "the land of the free, the home of the brave." American soldiers, even the ill-trained and badly-equipped ones that MacArthur sent from Japan, may fight in the traditional American spirit, in Korea, but it were well for them if no news from a craven Congress penetrated to the front lines.

Even the so-called leaders of Senate and House recently scurried under the bed. So panic-stricken were these "leaders" that their hysterical shrieks drowned the voice of a courageous President when he warned that the McCarran bill, later passed over his veto, went too far and that, instead of containing Communism, it would encourage it. Both Democrats and Republicans joined in rushing through a patchwork and probably unconstitutional bill.

It may be that when an American Congress, during the administration of John Adams, passed the obnoxious Alien and Sedition Acts, it was composed of such men as those who constitute the 81st Congress. Certainly the legislators of that earlier generation could not have been more rabbit-like than their successors of today. It might be argued that that earlier Congress had more excuse for its timidity than the present one. After all, we had but recently won our independence from the greatest empire in the world. Nor could those earlier Congressmen be held to be lacking in courage because they feared that Great Britain might reach out and snatch back its North American colonies. Prior to 1812 Great Britain was a threat to our security and independence. Communism from within today does not constitute such a threat because Communism is an ideology held by only a handful of Americans. Of course it is our duty to keep it from spreading and the way to do this is not to make tatters of our liberties and constitutional principles.

We must cling to our liberties and protect them from profanation by the McCarrans, the McCarthys and the Bridgeses. If we consider them of such little account as Congress has recently demonstrated, how can we expect others to regard them highly?

We have the second greatest army in the world and the best equipped. Shortly, that army will be even stronger. We have the greatest fleet in the world. No other country matches us in industrial potential. If needs must, in short order we could cloud the very sun with air power. We have the largest stock of atom bombs that exists anywhere. We have all of the manpower that would be required to protect our land from the mightiest foe, supported, as it would be, by ships, airplanes, tanks and artillery.

And yet we live in fear—craven, unmanly fear. "Who's afraid?" Mighty America is afraid—so afraid of an intangible but possible infiltration of Communism that we try to erect pretended barriers that are in fact futile to accomplish any result except to make more people more frightened. Everywhere in Western Europe where the Communist Party is permitted to function, the Communists have shown a steadily declining strength. We need not fear Communism in this country unless the political and economic conditions are such as to deprive men and women of hope. If we maintain our economy and assure their liberties to the people, we shall have nothing to fear except fear itself. And well may we fear such a fear as has possessed not only Senators, Representatives and other officials and citizens, but a considerable number of our newspapers and magazines.

This is no time to follow such men as McCarran, McCarthy and Bridges. This is no time to act like mice instead of men. Whatever else may be said of Harry S. Truman, he has shown high courage. So has Justice Robert H. Jackson, who, a few days after the President's veto message, handed down a ringing opinion on the constitutional rights of American citizens that takes its place alongside the Truman state paper, in rearming constitutional rights. Scorning the Congressional mob that passed the McCarran Act over the President's veto, let us follow the man who is our chosen leader and who, thank God, is indeed a man. There are other Americans of intellectual substance, such as Jackson, who are not afraid to stand up for what our fathers fought for. More of them should speak out clearly at this time of grave peril to American liberties. Let us follow these real Americans and rejoice that we have them.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGY: ENDURING PRINCIPLES AND TACTICAL EVOLUTION

by Avro Manhattan

"CATHOLIC SOCIAL THOUGHT" might have been an interesting exploration of the Catholic sociological landscape, unmarred by scholarly aloofness, sectarian bias or ideological prejudice. Alas for another reminder that one remains an innocent abroad. From the start of this work, one's longing for impartiality is repeatedly disappointed, until finally any hopes that the author will recover a judicious, inquisitive equilibrium are scattered, never to return. For Melvin J. Williams' book turns out to be no more than a thorough parade of Catholic teachings, prescribed as a remedy for our sick society.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL THOUGHT: ITS APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS, by Melvin J. Williams. With a Foreword by the Reverend Paul Hanly Furfey (Ronald Press; $5).

Nobody will deny an author the right to draw what conclusion he likes from his work. Nonetheless, it is a surprise to find a scholar indulging in a type of intellectual solicitation. An attitude of this kind is absurd when dealing with ordinary social questions: it is doubly so when examining problems tinted by theological teachings. Not that a writer should assert that all Catholic social principles are to be censured. But if condemnation is to be avoided, overpraise is not less objectionable, and the omission of important names is sure to endanger the impartiality of any objective work. So why, while discoursing upon the praiseworthy facets of Catholic socio-economic doctrine, from Thomas Aquinas on, ignore or whitewash others less alluring to modern ears?

It is curious, for instance, that Rosmini, one of the outstanding Catholic thinkers of the nineteenth century, is almost by-passed. True, he was chiefly a philosopher, but Rosminian reverberations in the sociological field should have been taken into account. This is particularly so because, in addition to being an eminent Catholic thinker, he was the founder of a Catholic Congregation, the Institute of Charity, whose members (Fathers of Charity) have been active in many countries, including the US, to the present day. Surely the originator of a vast Catholic organization connected with economic-social problems is a sociological phenomenon to be considered. Or do the facts that most of Rosmini's works, including his *Constitution According to Social Justice, The Five Wounds of the Church* and others, were condemned by the Church in 1849, that Pope Pius IX himself denounced Rosmini to the Index, that he was thrice commanded not to defend or expound his theories, and that in 1887 a decree of the Inquisition condemned forty propositions taken from the Rosminian teachings, explain the omission?

But there are even more serious blind spots. To mention only one: Williams will not deny that Lamennais loomed prominent in the social-political affairs of French and European Catholicism of the first half of the last century. His social writings shook France and the Church for decades, and yet he finds no place in the author's list of Catholic social thinkers. Why? Lamennais eventually left the Church, but he was still one of the most formidable defenders of Catholicism when, upon saying that "an immense liberty is indispensable for the development of those truths which are to save the world," he was condemned by the Archbishop of Paris.

Omissions aside, a fact of striking importance emerges from Williams' text. It is that Catholic socio-economic teachings are deeply impregnated with medievalism. We might expect this spirit to color the earlier chapters; it becomes ominous when modern Catholic sociological principles continue to expound it, screened only by a veneer of current socio-economic phraseology. The core of it today is the advocacy of a resurrection of the medieval guilds as devices to solve contemporary problems. In modern parlance, this becomes corporativism, the genitor of that political hybrid, the Corporate State.

The Corporate State was, and still is, a creature of the Catholic Church. Its foundation stones are Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum,* and Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno.* The argument that the sponsoring of the Corporate State has been abandoned by the Catholic Church does not stand any serious scrutiny. The fact that the Church at present protects Christian Democracy, represented by the various Catholic democratic parties, is due to events beyond its control. It is a tactical move, a bid for time.

It must be remembered that Catholic Christian Democracy, now the pet-child of the Catholic Church, was condemned as soon as it was born. Sangnier, its creator, had not yet begun to preach Christian Democratic ideals, and his famous social-action group, called the *Sillon* (the Furrow), was still a tender infant when the Pope condemned it, its initiator and his principles. This was before the First World War. As long as Fascism adopted the corporate doctrines, the social teaching of the Church was corporativism. When the Fascist edifice collapsed, corporativism had to be relegated to the background and the condemned doctrines preached by Sangnier were officially adopted. These are precisely the same ones which the Vatican had banned before the rise of Fascism. The only difference is that now they fit far better than does the too-compromised corporate system into a democratized postwar Europe. How much better suited they are is proved by the fact that within a few years Catholic Christian Democracy is in power in practically every European country, including Italy, France and Germany.

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Catholic Christian Democracy, however, although clothed in up-to-date democratic dress, stands basically on the same foundations as corporativism. Most of the sundry budding European extremisms of the Right make no bones about it. In Germany, Catholic Chancellor Adenauer is openly attempting to erect a German Corporate State under the guise of "Economic Councils."

Why can we find barely a mention of Sangnier and his ideas in this volume?

The plain truth is that Catholic social-economic teachings are one and the same everywhere, no matter how much they are superficially brought up to date. In the United States such teachings are the same as those which inspired European extremism before the war and now. The danger is not theoretical. It is concrete and pressing. The Red witch-hunt at home; fear of Russia abroad; the growing power of Catholicism within certain labor circles; the advice to US workers, such as: "Read the encyclicals of the Popes," given by Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor, last year; the softening of certain sections of the non-Catholic front, of which the present book is a typical example, are factors potentially capable of repeating, American style, the performance of Catholic social teachings in Europe between the two wars. But this Williams never even mentions.

Technically the book is a monolithic, thorough, bibliographical monument of conciseness and orderliness. Regrettable omissions apart, it is a mine of Catholic socio-economic information. The more the pity it should be so one-sided.

Avro Manhattan is the author of "The Vatican in World Politics," published last year by Gaer Associates.

LEFT-WING BROOMSTICK

HIGH TREASON: THE PLOT AGAINST THE PEOPLE, by Albert E. Kahn, with the assistance of Arthur Kahn (Lear Publishers; $3).

AT A TIME when America is reading a quantity of "Red Terror" warnings and reminiscences, Albert E. Kahn's *High Treason: The Plot Against the People* examines the other side of the coin and denounces Fascism—both American and imported—as the real threat to American liberties.

On the day that I began the book, I received in the mail a copy of the Tydings Report excoriating with unprecedented invective Senator Joseph R. McCarthy for his "character assassination" of American liberals caught in the net of his political fishing trip for Communists in the State Department. The coincidence seemed propitious, for the Tydings indictment of the Wisconsin patrioteer was likely to support Kahn's contention that there is a gigantic and deliberate plot on the part of unscrupulous American capitalism to turn the country over to Fascism. But it didn't work out that way; the Tydings Report became, not a confirmation, but a refutation of Kahn's thesis.

This history of the "plot against the people" extends from the days of the Palmer Red raids after World War I to the 1950 deification of the "Master of the Hunt," J. Edgar Hoover. With such dramatic, tabloidish headings as "Days of Terror," "Looting the Land" and "The New Inquisition," it recounts the witch hunts of the twenties, when the Western war against Bolshevism began and some of today's most ardent Red hunters were themselves the victims of people as stupid as themselves. It tells of Harding "normalcy" and the banditry of the "Ohio Gang"; of Calvin Coolidge's inanities and genuflexions before the genius of that same "business" to which David E. Lilienthal now wants to hand industrial atomic energy. It recalls Sacco and Vanzetti, sturdy disciples of a simpler and perhaps nobler radicalism than we now enjoy; of Herbert Hoover, his millionaire Cabinet and the collapse of 1929.

The reel unwinds, year after year: the shameless profiteering of World War II, the "gold internationale," the death of the New Deal and the coming of the "Missouri Gang" accompanied by a new apotheosis of Herbert Hoover, now become an "Elder Statesman" after a distinguished career of befuddlement. The "Washington Witch Hunt" is portrayed in all its gaudy and meretricious tinsel, with J. Parnell Thomas daring to sit as a judge of his fellow Americans. And there is "Terror in Tennessee," the "Trial of the Twelve," and the disgraceful "Riots of Peekskill."

The story is one to strike sadness, if not bitter anger, in the hearts of Americans who remember with pride the warm words and deeds of Jefferson, Lincoln or FDR. And yet the picture as drawn by Kahn is false.

No man can question much of the evidence that he has placed before us. What can be questioned is the unrestrained, almost conditioned-reflex method of its presentation. Uneasily, slowly but steadily, one decides that this is merely the reverse of McCarthyism; that any stick is good enough to beat the dog; that Kahn scanned each item of news as it came across his desk, not in the spirit of the historian, but as the propagandist who must deftly fit it into the neat pattern of his own thesis. In such an America as he has drawn, the Tydings Report becomes impossible.

The book abounds in sweeping phrases: "As the war fever mounted in the United States . . . [in 1948]"; "Jim Crow was again the law of the land"; "by trigger, lash and noose." Such unexamined statements roll glibly from Kahn's typewriter to add up to a great tableau that few Americans could accept in terms of their own daily lives and observations, however true separate incidents may be. The author has succeeded in making the sum of the parts greater than the whole.

It would be blindness not to see in Kahn's distorted painting much that is true and much that holds a warning for Americans who value freedom and social justice. But the social crimes of our era are sufficiently shocking to be judged on their own merits, without the embellishments of exaggeration and the arts of literary shock. To overdo—to engage in a witch hunt that now finds a Fascist plotter under every bed—is to weaken the struggle of American democracy against forces that undoubtedly threaten it. The myth of the "Fascist plot" is too simple an answer to the triumphs of reaction today, just as the myth of "Russian propaganda" is too simple an answer to the great waves of social unrest that are stirring half the world. Stupidity, ignorance, prejudice, a simple

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national folklore based on half-understood traditions, are no less important than the machinations of evil men in explaining today's drift toward reaction. To win the democratic struggle against the threats to freedom means to reach the hearts and minds of the American people, not to repel them by tiresome repetition of machined phrases.

ALEXANDER H. UHL

Alexander H. Uhl is former Foreign Editor of the newspaper "PM" and spent many years in Europe as correspondent for the Associated Press.

MAN AND SPACE

ALBERT EINSTEIN, HIS WORK AND ITS INFLUENCE ON OUR WORLD, by Leopold Infeld (Scribner's; $2).

CHARLES DARWIN, THE NATURALIST AS A CULTURAL FORCE, by Paul B. Sears (Scribner's; $2).

THESE TWO BOOKS are part of a new and interesting series, which aims to bring to laymen a "basic understanding" of the most influential ideas of the past century through intellectual biographies of the men themselves and a critical account of the origins and ramifications of their work. The books are inexpensive, brief and unpretentious; in the cases at hand, both are written by scientists of standing who have demonstrated before their ability to write for a popular audience, and their delight in doing so. But the two books are curiously different in scope even within the well-defined aim of the series. I do not know whether the difference arises from the taste of the authors or in some deeper way reflects the times and the subjects about which they write.

Professor Infeld is a theoretical physicist, a specialist in relativity theory, and a long-time friend and collaborator of Einstein's. Professor Sears is a botanist interested broadly in ecology and conservation. Both books include sketchy but adequate accounts of the main external events in the lives of their subjects. We learn how Einstein came to his youthful successes, of his famous "contempt for violence and bullying"; how the shy and sensitive Darwin washed out of the bloody medical course at old Edinburgh, to enter the clergy as a genteel alternative, and how his lucky appointment as naturalist to the surveying ship, *Beagle,* intervened to direct him to the work of a scientist. But these are merely incidents in the lives of men. A history of ideas is much closer to the central theme of both books. The ideas here treated are social events and have their causes and functions in society, along with their content or meaning.

Infeld spends nearly all of his pages in a graphic and often very appealing elementary account of the content of the great principles of Einstein. The nature of classical and Einsteinian space and time, the relation between geometry and physics, the meaning of the expansion of space—these are the main topics for Infeld. Einstein the man, the controversies and the myths which have surrounded his life and work, the some-

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what overstressed consequences of the mass-energy equivalence (which really has only a very indirect connection with atomic energy) are covered in relatively small space, though always with clarity and wit.

In the book on Darwin, however, there is little scientific exposition, either of the original ideas and evidence given by Darwin, or of the subsequent development of these ideas into the "modern synthesis" which is our growing knowledge of biology. Here history and function of the ideas are developed far above the scientific content itself. Sears traces the whole history of science, examines the sources of Darwin's ideas and spends much time upon their fruit today. He does not neglect the sciences they have fostered, like genetics and ecology, but he finds Darwin's "essential genius" not in results but in the principles of his method: the adherence to free inquiry and empirical test, with the underlying concept of process. Sears speaks primarily of the social and philosophical function of Darwin's ideas.

Einstein's work is in the abstract, cold and remote world of stars and atoms, and it came in our troubled century. Darwin's work squarely regarded the nature of the organism, man, and appeared as a releasing force in an expansive time for our culture. It could be that that intrinsic difference is responsible for the differences between these books. But it would have been more rewarding, if it could have been done, to have received a little broader philosophy along with the physics, and a little more substantial biology with the philosophy.

PHILIP MORRISON

Philip Morrison worked for the Manhattan District (atom-bomb project) during the war, and is now associate professor of Physics at Cornell University.

ON THE AIR: The Laff Riot

TELEVISION'S third full season is only a month old and it is too early yet to put forward many instructive generalizations. But one fact is buttressed with tangible evidence: NBC-TV is the leading network from the point of view of money spent on expensive talent.

Three comedy-variety programs on NBC-TV provide a great deal of fun. One of them brings Sid Caesar and Imogene Coca on the Saturday-night "Show of Shows" from nine to 10:30. There is no finer comedian than Caesar in the business. Without trying to ape Chaplin, he mimics his way into your heart. His humor is not buffoonery, nor is it markedly subtle; it is simply human, warm and therefore captivating. Nearly every one of these adjectives applies as well to Caesar's partner, Imogene Coca, and television show business is richer for having them. Max Liebman, who produces their program and first brought them to the air a couple of seasons ago, deserves a large share of the thanks for this show.

On Sunday night, NBC fills the screen from eight to nine with "Comedy Hour." That's the program I mentioned here a couple of weeks ago when I reported its opening, with Eddie Cantor as the first of the rotating stars in charge of proceedings. The week after Cantor's ingratiating debut, Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis took over the hour. With pratfalls, slapstick and buffoonery, the pair kept the television set animated and noisy for the full hour. A week later, Fred Allen was on hand. I'll come back to him presently. But, to complete the "Comedy Hour" timetable, the show will fill the fourth week of its monthly cycle with Bob Hope and Bobby Clark alternately: thus Cantor, Martin and Lewis, and Allen are to appear once every four weeks, Hope and Clark once every eight weeks.

Dave Garroway, with his "Garroway at Large" program, occupies the NBC-TV network Sunday nights from 10 to 10:30. Everything I said about this show last year still holds true. Garroway lets you sit back and enjoy his quiet, unobtrusive, unhurried, sometimes sly humor. If 10:30 happens to be your bedtime, you should sleep peacefully after seeing Garroway. He neither stirs you up nor lets you down; he is just a mild, polite but amusing neighbor who drops in for a half-hour, provokes a chuckle or two, and heads for the door before you are forced to yawn him on his way.

Having now dutifully reported on the three leading comedy shows, I think I must ask the masters of television whether it is true that the new medium has been created solely to prove that life is one big guffaw.

An illustration of TV's poverty may be seen in the reception given by the professional observers, the radio-TV critics, to Fred Allen. Allen spoofed television for about ten minutes, and for a week afterwards the reviewers were turning somersaults in their columns. This, they reported, was television at its best. Allen had held up a pie, remarking that the pastry plus a couple of writers could fill a program. He exhibited a seltzer bottle as being one of the principal ingredients for television success. Both the pie and the fizzwater referred, obviously, to the kind of act put on by Martin and Lewis, and to the low, noisy, razzle-dazzle with which Milton Berle still presumes to claim the title of "Mr. Television." Allen mentioned CBS-TV's Ed Sullivan by name, and ribbed Arthur Godfrey by holding up a ukulele. Except for these mild gibes, there was little to distinguish Allen's show from the field. Only at the end, when he and Risë Stevens performed an Americanized version of "Carmen," did the program come to life again.

Those who threw hats in the air at the arrival of Allen's dry wit on television saw, also, that he had misused his "Allen's Alley" people by exhibiting puppets that wobbled ineptly while the voices—of "Senator Claghorn," "Mrs. Nussbaum," etc.—spoke the lines into an off-screen microphone. The critics noted the faults, but cheered nevertheless because, like this reviewer, they respect Allen, know he would do a mature job if given more leeway, know there aren't nearly enough Allens and Caesars and Garroways in this country to fill television's schedules. But above all, they know—and I think the enthusiasm for Allen's sarcasm proved the point—that

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television is still woefully irresponsible.

Certainly, there are stabs and efforts in the right direction, and some of these —like the United Nations broadcasts— are important. But the biggest budgets are being given to the creation of belly-laughs. The drama hours and half-hours are taken for granted now, and once in a while they come through with a piece worth its screening time. Television is no longer entirely dependent on wrestling and roller-derbies. But thus far in its third season it continues for the most part to treat its audience as open-mouthed yokels whose notion of theatrical wit is a succession of agonized grimaces and loud, unseemly noises.

For the information of NBC's vice-president in charge of needling this particular reviewer (there really is one), I add that I did laugh during every one of the programs mentioned above—except Berle's. But that does not free NBC, or the rest of the television industry, from the obligation to give me anything but deodorized burlesque. For the information of that same veepee, I add that I do not think that NBC is finished, nor that television is done. I think both have just begun—to misuse the air.

SAUL CARSON

MOVIES

Backgrounds for Violence

WHY SHOULD New York's Bellevue Hospital lend its facilities for the production of a routine melodrama suggesting that its wards seethe with skulduggery? Bellevue is a great institution that has suffered often in the past from bad publicity and "The Sleeping City" is not calculated to counteract the wild rumors. To be sure, Richard Conte, who plays the detective lead, speaks a brief introduction in which he avows his admiration for the hospital and assures his audience that what they are to witness is entirely fictitious. But the mind remembers what the eye sees and a good many people are going to think of Bellevue now as a primary source for the dope traffic, an institution where the murder of internes is a commonplace and the

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elevators are manned by ancients wearing Lon Chaney's discarded dentures. It is a curious way to inspire public confidence.

"The Sleeping City" is a second-feature thriller that has been pushed into the lead spot because of its documentary background. It is briskly directed by George Sherman, acted with mechanical competence: a smooth ride over a familiar road.

The new Italian import, "Bitter Rice," also adapts an interesting setting to a strange purpose. The picture was made in the rice paddies of the Po Valley and employs a group of migrant women harvesters for excellent background material. But it is a puzzle why Giuseppe De Santis should have transported his troupe to this inconvenient location to tell a routine sex-and-slaughter yarn that could have been filmed as well on any studio lot. The carnal interest of the picture is supplied by Silvana Mangano, a girl with the physique of a caryatid and the inhibitions of a lady wrestler. The script is a hodgepodge of loosely-related episodes that try unsuccessfully to synchronize the tribulations of the rice workers with Miss Mangano's high spirits. There is no doubt that audiences whose innocence has been watched over by the American movie producers' code will be startled by some of the gamier passages in "Bitter Rice"; whether they will be edified is another matter.

The great comic abilities of Alastair Sim and Margaret Rutherford are given fine scope in the current British jape, "The Happiest Years of Your Life." We are to imagine that an ancient British boys' school is called upon to play the unwilling, embarrassed and totally unprepared host to a girls' institution of similarly dignified lineage. This contretemps is brought about by an emergency decision of the Ministry of Education that will not be understood by, and need not concern, American audiences. The plot rubs a little thin in spots, but it gives Sim ample opportunity to raise his eyes in silent prayer and Miss Rutherford frequent occasion to quote crisply but inappropriately from the jollier English aphorists: these are specialties well known to and beloved by the Sim and Rutherford cliques. The climax of the picture, a ludicrous hoax involving Sim, Miss Rutherford, the entire faculties of both schools, a group of visiting parents, a board of inspecting educators and several hundred boys and girls, is performed with a split-second hilarity that was never surpassed by the Marx Brothers. Everyone in "The Happiest Days" works hard for laughs, and they provoke quite a few. ROBERT HATCH

BANDWAGON

The New Lincoln

Governor Long declared, "I have no bug under the chip. I have no deal with Truman. I have never yet asked a colored man to register or vote. I want to educate and improve them and try to keep them from getting into our white colleges." – *From the* Arkansas Gazette, *Little Rock.*

Easy Out

In a war, much of the red tape involved in getting out of a union contract could be dispensed with, informed observers say. Once the government officially put the Red brand on one of the unions already notoriously friendly to the Communist cause, they assume employers would have a perfect defense in court for breaking the contract. – *J. E. Meyers in the New York* Journal of Commerce.

Durance Sweet

The "concentration camp" provision was urged by Administration Democrats in the hope that it would sufficiently sweeten the [anti-subversive] measure to win President Truman's approval. – *David McConnell in the New York* Herald Tribune.

Liquor's Quicker

Dr. Caradine R. Hooton, executive secretary of the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church, said today that "more Government secrets have been leaked from Washington leaders through drink than were drained off by direct Communistic chicanery." . . . He said the Korean conflict was rooted in the Yalta conference, where "Stalin's crowd drank our representatives under the table." – *AP dispatch from Denver.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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WHAT WERE THE REAL REASONS BEHIND LOUIS JOHNSON'S ABRUPT DISMISSAL FROM THE TRUMAN CABINET?

Shortly before Louis Johnson's "resignation" from the post of Secretary of Defense, President Truman publicly announced that as long as he was in the White House, Johnson would remain in his Cabinet. Why was Johnson then summarily dismissed? Was it public pressure? His inability to get along with other Cabinet members? Or was Johnson made the scapegoat for failures on the part of the Administration?

(For answer, see page 11, September 25th issue of NEW REPUBLIC)

If you are a regular reader of the NEW REPUBLIC, you know the answers to these and other critical questions which vitally affect your welfare and your way of life. If not, you'll want to use the coupon below to make certain you don't miss a single issue!

CAN WE HAVE BOTH A MILITARY AND A PEACEFUL ATOM?

In our headlong preparation for war, are we losing sight of the transformation which atomic energy could bring to a peaceful world? To the mass of mankind, atomic fuel could mean world-wide industrialization, prosperity and abundance far greater than could ever be won on any battlefield. Can we put nuclear energy to the constructive purposes for which it was intended, and at the same time continue our military preparations?

(For answer, see page 12, September 18th issue of NEW REPUBLIC)

IS DEWEY'S DECISION TO RUN FOR GOVERNOR A "WARM-UP" FOR THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN?

Most people believed Dewey meant it when he said he was retiring from public life. Now, in view of what he calls the "war crisis," Dewey has allowed himself to be "drafted" for a third term as Governor. Does this shrewdly-timed political maneuver mean that Dewey's much-battered hat will be in the Presidential ring in 1952?

(For answer, see page 10, September 18th issue of NEW REPUBLIC)

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As We Approach Mid-Century!

Compared with the thousands of years of recorded history, we are still a very young nation. Compared with other governments, our government is among the oldest. Americans may be proud that, while other governments, dynasties, kingdoms and empires have been falling, our government has grown in strength and prestige among the nations of the world.

But these facts call for more than pride from Americans. They suggest the grave responsibility that has been thrust upon our nation. In the world leadership that is so sorely needed today, we must play the part of an "adult" nation. Consequently, when our leaders in public life reveal that they are more anxious to discredit the opposition party than to be right, they deal a severe blow to the world prestige of our nation. Too much that is being said and done in Congress and by leaders in various walks of life outside of Congress is shamefully inspired by mean, small, partisan motives that do no one any good and greatly harm the country.

Immediately following the close of World War II, Republican leaders accused President Truman of refusing to demobolize our armies because the President feared unemployment of the returning soldiers and was needlessly keeping our boys in the armed services at taxpayers' expense. These same Republicans are now accusing the President of having encouraged Communism by demobilizing our armed forces so soon after World War II.

The American electorate should consider the general elections of 1950 as an opportunity to drive from public office all those incumbent office holders who have been disposed to smear and aimlessly discredit their opponents rather than to pull together intelligently and sincerely for the common good of humanity in this troubled and unstable world.

W. P. Kennedy, President,
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen,
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